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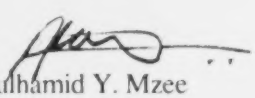

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BASIC EDUCATION IN ZANZIBAR: PROGRESS, PROBLEMS, AND ISSUES.

BY

ABDULHAMID YAHYA MZEE

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF EDUCATION.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled

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submitted by ABDULHAMID YAHYA MZEE in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF EDUCATION.

Dr. D. M. Richards

Dr. Frank Peters

Dr. W. D. Samiroden

Date: JULY 25, 1994

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to describe and evaluate the Zanzibar basic education system and determine the factors that affected its performance. Document analysis and a questionnaire survey to heads of primary and secondary schools were used as the main instruments of data collection. The study covered the period 1982–1992 and concentrated on three main areas: the universalization of basic education, the internal efficiency of the basic education system, and the quality of basic education. School heads' opinions were used to determine the factors that affected the performance of the basic education system during the period under study. In particular, the opinions were used to determine the factors that affected enrollment of school-age children and the quality of basic education.

The results show that the universalization of basic education is far from being reached; the internal efficiency of the basic education system was not satisfactory; and the quality of basic education was below acceptable levels. Several factors were responsible for the unsatisfactory performance of the basic education system. The most common factors were: the need for child labor, dropouts and truancy, failure of parents to appreciate the importance of education, early marriages, a shortage of classrooms, lack of employment opportunities, poor family background, school heads' lack of power and authority, school heads' lack of relevant training, heavy teaching loads of teachers, a shortage of classrooms, a shortage of qualified teachers, a poor learning environment, the use of double shift system, large class sizes, the system of inspection of teachers, teachers' lack of professional support, lack of parent involvement and support in school activities, lack of teacher motivation, and lack of teaching materials.

In general, purposeful measures need to be taken to improve the performance of the education system both quantitatively and qualitatively. Several suggestions are provided that may help to improve the situation.

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Chapter 1

Background and Rationale

Introduction

Zanzibar, like many other countries both in the developed and developing world recognizes education to be a fundamental right of every human being. It is instrumental in bringing about social and economic development of individuals and the society at large. The provision of good quality education and universalization of basic education have therefore been major education objectives of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government since 1964 when the African majority seized power from the Arab monarchy .

Nationalization of private schools, abolition of school fees, and removal of entrance examinations to secondary education were some of the evident steps taken by the government in order to ensure that education became accessible to all segments of the population irrespective of color, race, gender, economic status, or any other forms of discrimination. All barriers towards educational advancement were removed and the doors were kept open to anyone to educate themselves to the limit of their abilities. The government abolished all private schools on July 1, 1964 and announced the policy of free education on September 23, 1964.

To ensure that the major education objectives were met, education programs were developed and became part and parcel of the country's social and economic development plans. For instance, the first three year plan (1978/79–1980/81) targeted to achieve universal basic education (UBE) by the end of 1980. The provision of universal basic education to all eligible children was also emphasized in the second and third development plans which covered the period 1981/82–1985/86 and 1988/89–1992/93 respectively.

In addition to programs aimed at universalizing basic education other programs geared towards improving the quality of education were also incorporated in the development plans. These programs included expansion and improvement of teacher education facilities, revision of curricula, writing and printing of primary education textbooks, and many others.

Another major event that showed the seriousness of the government in fostering educational development took place in 1982 when the parliament passed a new education act. Among other things the act guaranteed the right to education to every citizen and legally made basic education free and compulsory. Some of the sections of the Zanzibar Education Act No. 6 of 1982 are quoted below:

Section 19 states:

> It should be compulsory for every child who has attained the age of seven years but not attained the age of thirteen years to be enrolled for primary education.

Section 20 states:

> (1) The parent or parents, guardian or guardians of every child compulsorily enrolled for primary education shall ensure that the child regularly attends the school at which he [she] is enrolled until he [she] completes the basic education.

Section 53 states:

> (1) Basic primary and secondary education is the right of every child in Zanzibar and the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar is bound to provide that education to every child.
>
> (2) Subject to National Policy on education and to other National plans and priorities appropriately specified from time to time , every citizen of Tanzania, resident in Zanzibar shall be entitled to receive such category, nature and level of education as his [her] ability may permit him [her].
>
> (3) Subject to the National Policy on education and to other national plans and priorities, education beyond the level of secondary school is not as of right to every child but would be accorded to pupils who merit in ability and other qualification required by the [Higher Education] Council.

> (4) No person may within Zanzibar, be denied opportunity to obtain any category, nature or level of education as is provided, for the reason only of his [her] race, religious or political or ideological beliefs.

Section 54 states:

> No fees, subscription or contribution shall be charged, levied or collected as a condition of admission into or attendance in any public school.

The pieces of legislation cited above and the inclusion of basic education programs in the national development plans demonstrate the commitment of the government to providing education to all eligible children. A more recent development regarding educational development in Zanzibar took place in 1992, when the government released a new education policy. Among other things, the policy reaffirmed the government's commitment to the provision of free, compulsory and good quality basic education to all school-age children.

In short, the education legislation and policies that have prevailed over the last thirty years emphasized universalization of basic education. A major primary question that one might curiously ask is: "To what extent have these policies been implemented?" A secondary question could be: "What impact did the policies have on the quality of education?" Another question could be: "What problems, if any, have hindered the implementation of these policies?"

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to describe and evaluate the basic education system in Zanzibar and determine the factors that have affected its performance. The study covered the period between 1982 and 1992. This period was chosen because of the following reasons: (a) this was the period following a massive nationwide universal basic education campaign launched in 1978, (b) it was within this period that legislation was passed that made education a right of every child and school attendance compulsory, (c) within this

period, the education system was stable and did not undergo major organizational and structural changes, and (d) a ten year period of policy implementation is long enough to warrant in-depth evaluation.

This study addressed the major objectives of basic education: (a) to ensure that all eligible children were enrolled into and attending school, that is, the universalization of basic education (b) to ensure that relevant and good quality education was provided to the children, and (c) to guarantee equal educational opportunities to all segments of the population. The following research questions guided the study:

1. What progress has been made in meeting the objective of universal basic education?

2. To what extent has the internal efficiency of the basic education system improved during the period?

3. To what extent has the quality of basic education improved during the period?

4. What factors have affected the enrollment of children in schools during the period?

5. What factors have affected the quality of basic education provided during the period?

Significance of the Study

This study was basically both evaluative and descriptive in nature. It was evaluative in nature because it aimed at assessing the performance of the basic education system. Little research has been conducted regarding educational developments in Zanzibar in general and performance of basic education system in particular. This study will be informational in the sense that it provides feedback and reliable information that can be used by various education stake-holders in improving or revising the ongoing basic education policies. Hence officials at the Ministries of Education, Planning, and Finance will find

Finance will find this study to be significant as it is one of the very few researches to be carried out for the purpose of evaluating the performance of existing educational policies.

The study will serve the professional function of evaluation as it demonstrates the effectiveness or failure of plans and strategies in use and recommends corrective actions. It may also serve the historical function of evaluation as it provides a document that has recorded various actions, events, and results that would otherwise be lost to collective memory.

This study will also help the government know the progress achieved so far and the problems facing the education sector and therefore focus its attention on what should be done to realize the desired education objectives. The study will also be of interest to the international organizations which are currently involved in funding various education programs in Zanzibar. To the international community, the lesson drawn from the Zanzibar experience may help them to revisit their efforts and formulate better strategies for achieving the "education for all" goal by the end of this century.

At theoretical level, the methodology used in this study may provide a basis for developing a better instrument for replication in other developing countries. Finally, the study has identified several areas for further research that if studied, will contribute significantly towards the improvement of the performance of the basic education system in Zanzibar.

Delimitations and Limitations

This study is delimited to the period under investigation, that is, from 1982 to 1992. It is also delimited to heads of schools to whom the questionnaire was administered. The study involved only schools in Zanzibar and the results may not be generalized to the rest of Tanzania.

A pilot study was conducted by using few Tanzanian teachers currently studying in Edmonton. This event might have limited the reliability of the instrument as the perceptions and level of understanding of these teachers might have been different from those of intended participants.

The findings of this study are limited to the perceptions of school heads which might be different from other stake-holders such as policy makers, parents, teachers and students.

Assumptions

The reliability of any study depends upon the accuracy of data obtained from various sources. Because the researcher was not in position to verify the data, it was assumed that the data provided by various sources were true and accurate. It was also assumed that the participants were knowledgeable about the issues raised in the questionnaire and that they gave their honest opinions.

Explanation of Terms

Basic education: Basic education "refers to the level of education in any country that constitutes the foundation stage offered to all, or virtually all children" (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1991, p. 4). According to Hallak (1991), basic education can mean: (a) "a minimum number of years of education in which a beneficiary is expected to achieve a level of numeracy and literacy which can be maintained through out of school services after graduation" or (b) "the maximum number of years that a government can afford to provide for all or most of its citizens" (p.114). It would include at least primary schooling. In many Commonwealth countries it comprises both primary and junior secondary education. Programs of out of school education for children and adults, which are of the same level as those offered in formal primary and secondary schools, are also classified as basic education.

In the Zanzibar context, basic education comprises formal schooling, which up to 1992, consisted of eight years of primary and three years of junior secondary education as well as non formal education in which equivalent programs are offered to adults. This study concentrated only on the formal schooling. It is worth noting that according to the new education policy, effective from 1993, the duration of basic education was reduced to ten years (seven years of primary and three years of junior secondary education).

District Education officer: A person appointed to be in charge of all matters related to education in an administrative district of Zanzibar.

Double shift system : A school is said to operate on a double shift system if the same school buildings are used by two different groups of pupils. In Zanzibar, the school is under the supervision of the same head but the two groups of pupils are taught by two different groups of teachers.

Headmaster/headmistress: A person appointed to be head of primary, mixed primary and secondary, or secondary school.

Inspector: An officer appointed by the Minister for Education under Section 44 of the Zanzibar Education Act No. 6 of 1982 to perform duties of inspection, supervision, and guidance of educational work as may be allocated to him/her from time to time by the Minister.

Quality of Education : "The notion of quality of education is more problematic. There is no single definition of quality, and there are several ways of interpreting quality in education" (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1991, p. 4). Traditionally, it was measured by examination and test results. Though there are limitations, as performance in tests and examinations is influenced by many factors outside the school system (family background, social and economic status), they are "still the best indicators of academic and vocational achievement provided they are treated with appropriate caution" (Economic Council of

Canada, 1992, p. 6). According to the Economic Council of Canada (1992), high achievement in the cognitive field "is the indispensable precondition for a first class vocational education and for the attainment of social, cultural, and personal goals" (p. 7) Bacchus (1991) supported the use of tests and examinations in measuring the quality of education when he wrote:

> The public in general, and parents in particular, often seem to have less doubts about what is implied by the term. For them, improving the quality of education invariably means raising the level of academic performance of pupils, usually as measured in test scores in various subjects which form part of their school curriculum. (p. 5)

Based upon the above arguments, this study has used the transition rates to Form Four which were based on Zanzibar National Form Three examination results to assess the improvement in the quality of education during the period under investigation.

Regional Education Officer: A person appointed to be in charge of all matters related to education in an administrative region of Zanzibar.

School Committee: A committee established under section 24 of the Zanzibar Education Act No. 6 of 1982 for the purpose of supervising and advising on the management of the school.

Organization of the Thesis

Chapter 1 of the thesis has discussed the background, rationale and purpose of the study, significance of the study, limitations and delimitations of the study, assumptions underlying the study, and the explanation of important terms used in the thesis.

To acquaint the reader with the place where the study was conducted, a brief background of Zanzibar and its education system is presented in Chapter 2. A review of related literature is discussed in Chapter 3. Methods and procedures used in this study are discussed in Chapter 4. The analysis of data and discussion of findings are discussed in

Chapter 5, Chapter 6, and Chapter 7. Chapter 8, the final chapter, provides the summary, conclusions, recommendations, and raises some issues that might need further research.

Chapter 2

The Country's Historical and Educational Development

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide some background information on Zanzibar. The chapter covers two major aspects: (a) brief history and socioeconomic context and (b) educational development that has taken place.

Brief History and Socioeconomic Context

Zanzibar comprises the islands of Unguja and Pemba and the islets within its territorial waters. It is situated in the Indian Ocean and lies off the coast of East Africa between latitudes four and six degrees south of the equator. It is one of the two partners of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Unguja is the second largest island on the East African coast and is roughly 53 miles long by 24 miles (maximum measurements) and has an area of 640 square miles (2,332 square kilometers). It is separated from the African continent by a channel 22.5 miles across its narrowest part. Pemba, the smaller of the two islands, lies about 25 miles to the north-east of Unguja and is about 42 miles long by 14 miles (maximum measurements) with an area of 380 square miles (868 square kilometers). The capital and also the major port of Zanzibar is Zanzibar Town, located in the west of Unguja Island. Other urban towns are Wete, Chakechake, and Mkoani, all of which are located on Pemba island.

The geographical position of Zanzibar was partly responsible for its history and popularity. Its location was strategic enough to attract early explorers and traders. Ingrams (1967) wrote:

> Zanzibar owes its history mainly to its insularity, to its convenience as a jumping-off place for the east coast of Africa, to its proximity to Asia, and to the trade winds or monsoons, which account to a large extent for its close political and commercial connection from the earliest times with India, the countries bordering on the Persian Gulf, and to the Read Sea. (p. 41)

Ancient races such as the Sumerians, Assyrians, Hindus, Egyptians, Phoenicians, and Southern Arabians were known to have visited Zanzibar from the earliest times. Consequently, Zanzibar was subjected to foreign invasion, occupation and domination for many years.

Among the first immigrants to settle and intermarry with the indigenous people were the Persians who began to land in Zanzibar in about the tenth century. In addition to adopting traditions and ceremonies from the Persian culture, the indigenous people were also converted to Islam. However, it was the Arabs, particularly those from Oman, who had the most persistent relationships with the African communities. Lofchie (1965) explained:

> The most persistent relationship between Zanzibar's African communities and any immigrant race has been with Arabs. . . . After the founding of Islam in the seventh century, there was a marked intensification of Arab contact with Zanzibar and the East African coast. Exiles from religious wars and persecutions and from internal dynastic conflicts joined traders in the stream of immigration. Those from Oman became particularly important, for they began to establish colonies where before they had only traded. (pp. 25–26)

These Arab settlers also married locally. The intermarriages gave rise to the birth of new coastal people, the Swahili, who followed Islam and the Swahili language, which is a hybrid of Arabic and Bantu. Consequently, the Arab domination and influence grew and flourished throughout the east coast of Africa.

The Arab domination of the colonies in the east coast of Africa was interrupted by the arrival of the Portuguese early in the sixteenth century. They captured all the colonies along the coast and established themselves as a supreme political power in the Indian Ocean. Their major objectives were to establish a national monopoly of the Indian Ocean

trade and to convert the local population to Christianity. They were outsted by the Arabs from Oman in the seventeenth century. In 1830s, Sultan Said moved his capital from Oman to Zanzibar. From then on, the Arab oligarchy ruled Zanzibar and controlled almost all spheres of cultural, economic, and political life. In 1890, Great Britain reached an agreement with the Sultan, legally making Zanzibar a British protectorate, with Britain assuming full control over the Islands in 1914.

Following the establishment of political parties in the 1950s, the British administration was forced to conduct elections in 1957. Two further elections took place in 1961 and 1963. The major political parties involved in the elections included the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) which represented the interests of the majority of Africans, the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) that represented the interest of the ruling Arabs, the Muslim League representing the interest of the Asians, and the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP) that emerged as a result of racial and ethnic tensions among the indigenous Zanzibaris and Africans from the Mainland.

Despite its good performance in those elections, the ASP was not allowed to form the government. It became evident that the colonial administration was in favor of maintaining the Arab monarchy and every means possible was used to ensure that the African majority will never rule the country. Lofchie (1965) explained:

> The introduction of democratic political institutions could have led to a constitutional transfer of power from the Arab oligarchy to the African majority, but due to the unusual results of the 1963 election this failed to occur. Had Zanzibar electoral districts been differently arranged or had proportional representation been employed instead of single member constituencies, the ASP's strong popular majority would have enabled it to assume power as the result of an orderly electoral process. (p. 257)

In the 1963 elections, ASP won 13 seats with 53.4 per cent of the valid votes, ZNP won 12 seats with only 29.3 per cent of valid votes and ZPPP won six seats with 15.6 per cent of the votes. Despite this performance, ASP was not allowed to form the government. Instead, ZNP and ZPPP colluded together to form a coalition ZNP/ZPPP government.

Consequently, the British administration granted Zanzibar its independence in December 1963 with the Sultan still continuing to be the ruler of Zanzibar. "This was the immediate cause of the revolution—Africans overthrew the ZNP/ZPPP government by force because there no longer seemed to be any way to create an African state by constitutional means" (Lofchie, 1965, p. 257).

The revolution took place on January 12, 1964, and the People's Republic of Zanzibar was born. Four months later, Zanzibar united with Tanganyika to form the United Republic of Tanzania. In February, 1977, ASP merged with the ruling party in Tanganyika, TANU, (Tanganyika African National Union) to form Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). Under the Union Constitution, with the exception of defence, foreign policy, internal affairs, currency, customs and excise, posts and telecommunications, civil aviation matters, and higher education, Zanzibar maintains its autonomy over all matters such as economic policies, finance, social services, agriculture, communications, natural resources, tourism, commerce and trade, and many others. It therefore has its own executive president, a cabinet of ministers and parliament. The president and members of parliament are elected by the people every five years.

Administratively, Zanzibar has five regions and each region has two districts. According to the 1988 Population Census, Zanzibar had a population of about 640,685 people in which 329,269 were women. When compared to the 1978 census, the population was growing at 3.0 per cent per annum which was very high. The distribution of population by districts is shown in Table 1.

As shown in Table 1, the population growth rate varied among the administrative districts. The highest population growth was observed in West, Central, and Urban districts while the lowest growth was observed in South and almost all districts in Pemba. According to the 1988 Census the average population density was about 275 persons per

square kilometer but varied considerably from 9,852 persons per square kilometer in the densely populated Urban district to 69 persons per square kilometer in South district.

Table 1

Administrative Regions and Distribution of Population by District

Island	Region	District	Population 1978	Population 1988	Growth rate %
Unguja	Urban-West	Urban	110,506	157,626	3.6
		West	31,535	50,945	4.9
	Unguja North	North A	48,124	59,990	2.2
		North B	28,893	36,999	2.5
	Unguja South	Central	29,797	45,252	4.3
		South	21,952	25,061	1.3
Pemba	Pemba North	Wete	58,923	76,125	2.6
		Micheweni	47,367	61,064	2.6
	Pemba South	Chakechake	47,208	60,051	2.4
		Mkoani	51,806	67,572	2.7
Zanzibar			476,111	640,685	3.0

About 31 per cent of the population lived in urban areas in the four towns namely Zanzibar Town, Wete, Chakechake and Mkoani. The same census showed that about 47 per cent of the population consisted of young people under 15 years old.

With respect to its economy, Zanzibar is essentially an agricultural country. Its main export is cloves which accounts for about 90 per cent of foreign exchange earnings. Other exports on small scale include coconut, spices, and sea products. The Government has recently embarked on economy diversification program which is aimed at reducing the

dependence of the economy on only one product, namely cloves. Now, tourism, fishing and trade are receiving serious attention.

Like many developing countries, Zanzibar has been facing serious economic difficulties during the past 15 years. In addition to various global factors, the drastic decline in clove prices in the world market and decline in the domestic production of cloves caused serious economic hardships. For instance, the price per ton of cloves dropped from about US $9000.00 in 1970s to about US $1700.00 in 1990s. Consequently the gross domestic product (GDP) at 1976 prices dropped from Tanzanian shillings (TShs.) 978.8 million in 1976 to TShs. 661.7 million in 1984. During the same period the income per capita at constant 1976 prices dropped from TShs. 2,240.00 to TShs. 1,183.00. Signs of economic recovery started to show up in 1985 when positive growth in GDP was recorded. By 1990, the GDP at constant 1976 prices reached TShs. 815.4 million. Because of very high population growth rate the income per capita continued to decline and reached TShs. 1,200.00 in 1990.

Thus, the decline in the national economy accompanied by high population growth rate affected to a very great extent the development of Zanzibar including the provision of basic social services such as health, water, housing and education.

Educational Development

Two periods of educational developments can be identified. These periods are: (a) the pre-revolution period and (b) the post-revolution period.

Educational Development During The Pre-Revolution Period

Three types of education systems characterized the educational development during the pre-revolution period. The systems were: (a) traditional education, (b) religious education, and (c) colonial education.

Traditional Education.

Like many African societies traditional indigenous education was part of the lives of the Zanzibar people and their children. The main purpose of traditional education was to inculcate societal and communal values into the young generation. Though most of the traditional education was provided through informal means, there was also some form of formal education. Formal education was provided in initiation ceremonies and in teaching special skills to young generation. These skills included canoe building, making and using fishing gear, traditional medicine, and several other trades. Education was also provided through stories, dancing, and games. The major limitation to these forms of traditional education was the absence of writing. Despite this limitation, traditional education is still dominant in many communities and is contributing significantly in providing skills and cultural identity to the younger generations.

Religious Education.

The arrival of Arabs in Zanzibar gave rise to the introduction of religious education though the Koranic schools. Islamic education, through Koranic schools has been and still is an integral part of Zanzibar's educational scene. Koranic teaching was conducted mainly through recitation and memorization of the Koran and mastering of the Arab scripts to enable the learners to read the Koran.

In addition to enabling the African natives to understand the Islamic religion, Koranic schools enabled many people in Zanzibar to be literate in Arabic script. Knowledge of Arabic script enabled many people to write the mother-tongue language using Arabic scripts. This was confirmed by a survey on adult literacy conducted by Wilson (1938) who found that in a sample of 2,740 people, 43.5 per cent were literate in Arabic script, 4.5 per cent were literate in both Arabic and roman script, 1.5 per cent were

literate in roman script only, and 50.5 per cent were illiterate. By 1931, there were more than 800 Koranic schools with an enrollment of about 12,000 pupils.

In addition to the Islamic missions, Christian missionaries also infiltrated Zanzibar between 1840 and 1890. This period was long after the Arabs were well settled in Zanzibar. Their major objective was to introduce Christianity. In order to achieve their religious goals, the missionaries introduced reading, writing and some arithmetic to enable people to read the bible, hymnbooks and catechism. In 1870, the first secular education was introduced in Zanzibar by the University Mission for Central Africa church (UMCA). The majority of the pupils were children of freed slaves. This was followed by an establishment of a vocational school in Pemba in 1897 by another Christian mission, the Friends Industrial Mission. Several other Christian missions went to Zanzibar for similar purposes in the subsequent years. By 1950s there were about twenty schools with about 400 pupils. However, because of very strong Islamic influence that existed in Zanzibar, the natives did not join these schools and most of the pupils came from other sectors of population such as the Goans and Christian Africans from the Mainland.

Colonial Education.

The history of colonial education could be traced as far back as 1890 when the first non-religious school was established. The school was started by the Indians for the Indian community. This was followed by the establishment of a government school in 1905. The school was started by the Sultan for the members of the royal family and their close associates.

Further educational developments took place in 1907 when the first Director of Education was appointed by the colonial administration. His first move was to introduce Swahili as a medium of instruction in primary schools and to make the teaching of the Koran an integral part of education. This move was not successful in convincing parents

send their children to schools as most of them believed that the modern schools were not as effective in teaching the Islamic religion as the traditional Koranic schools. The resistance to Western schooling was evident from the report of the Chief Inspector of education who in 1931 noted: "The hostility of parents rests almost invariably on a religious basis. They are not satisfied that the teaching of religion in our schools is sufficient and were of the opinion that schools cannot effectively replace the traditional Koranic schools" (Cited in Cameron & Dodd, 1970, p. 76). Consequently, by 1931, the enrollment in the Koranic schools was three times greater than that of the whole secular system (Cameron & Dodd, 1970).

To improve the situation, the colonial administration had to employ other strategies that could convince the people to have confidence and trust the western schooling. Among the strategies were the government's moves to recruit, pay, and post a locally appointed Koran teacher in each government primary school and to devote the first two years of primary education to the teaching of the Koran. As a result of these moves, enrollment in secular primary schools began to increase rapidly. By 1945, there were 30 government primary schools for boys and seven for girls. In addition to these schools there were nine government-assisted schools whose pupils came mainly from the Asian communities. Within ten years after 1945, the primary school enrollment doubled from 7,500 to 13,400 and that of secondary schools increased from 162 to 627 (Cameron & Dodd, 1970). The trend continued to grow and by 1963 there were 62 primary schools with total enrollment of 19,106 pupils and four secondary schools with 734 students. Meanwhile, because of the pressures from the ruling Arabs and influential Asians, the colonial administration started to provide opportunities for higher education abroad mainly in India, Britain, Egypt and the United States. According to Cameron and Dodd (1970), by 1963, there were nearly 400 Zanzibaris studying abroad, the great majority of whom were either Arabs or Asians.

These rapid educational developments were not spread evenly among the various segments of the population. The most disadvantaged were the Africans. Under the colonial education system, the majority of Africans received between four and eight years of primary education while the majority of Asians and Arabs had access to twelve years of primary and secondary education, and post secondary education both in the country and abroad. A survey by Batson in 1948 (reported by Lofchie 1965, p. 92) showed that although Asians and Arabs accounted for only 7.5 and 29.2 per cent of total primary school enrollment (Grade I to Grade IV), they respectively accounted for 41.4 and 32.1 per cent of secondary school enrollment. On the other hand indigenous Africans who accounted for 38.5 per cent of primary school enrollment (Grade I to Grade IV), constituted only 2.9 per cent of secondary school enrollment. Mainland Africans and Commorians constituted 20.7 and 4.1 of primary school enrollment and 16.4 and 7.1 per cent of secondary school enrollments respectively. The low secondary school enrollment of the indigenous Africans was due to the fact that the colonial education system ignored most of the rural areas where the majority of them lived, and instead favored the urban areas where the Arab ruling class, the wealthy Asians, and the Mainland Africans and Commorians lived. While most of the urban primary schools offered eight years of education, most of the rural schools offered between four and six years of education. For the rural African children to continue with higher education, they had to go to boarding schools in urban areas. The economic burden of sending a child to board at a higher school was beyond the financial resources of the majority of the Africans.

In summary, as noted by Lofchie (1965), "the Zanzibar's education system has been, in a sense, simply a mechanism through which already over-privileged racial groups increased their social and economic advantages" (pp. 92–93). The colonial education system "strongly favored the city at the expense of the countryside, and well-to-do at the expense of the poverty-ridden" (Lofchie 1965, p. 81) and contributed significantly to the racial and ethnic tensions that prevailed in Zanzibar in the pre-revolution period and as

observed by Cameron and Dodd (1970), "some of the seeds of revolution can be discerned in the schools" (p. 116).

Educational Development in the Post-revolution Period

Structural and Policy changes.

The first educational move taken by the new Revolutionary Government was to get rid of the colonial education system that operated on the basis of race, religion, ethnic origin or socioeconomic status. On July 1, 1964, the government abolished all schools that operated on discriminatory basis and converted them to public schools where everybody had the right to be admitted. This move was followed by the proclamation of the free education policy on September 23, 1964. These two measures were aimed at making education accessible without any economic barriers irrespective of race, color, religion, ethnic origin or socioeconomic status. Efforts were made to increase the number of schools so as to cope with a dramatic increase in enrollments. Because of these efforts, the number of schools offering primary and secondary education increased from 66 (62 primary and four secondary schools) in 1963 to 146 in 1992. Similarly, during the same period the number of pupils in primary and secondary schools increased from 19,106 and 734 to 106,443 and 19,150 respectively.

Between 1964 and 1967, the structure of the education system was similar to the one inherited from the colonial government, that is, the 8–4–2 system (eight years of primary education, four years of lower secondary education and two years of advanced secondary education). After eight years of primary education, students had to sit for secondary school entrance examinations in order to compete for the few available places in secondary schools. A major policy change took place in 1968 when the government ignored the secondary school entrance examination,and introduced a system of seven years of compulsory schooling and universalized the first two years of secondary education.

Thus a system of nine years of basic education was put into place after which students had to sit for an entrance examination to the third and fourth years of secondary education. In 1971, the government abolished the secondary school entrance examination, and universalized the first three years of secondary education. Hence the duration of basic education was increased from nine to ten years. In 1978, the government reintroduced the eighth year of primary education and since then up to 1992, the duration of basic education was eleven years, that is, eight years of primary and three years of lower secondary education.

For administrative purposes, primary education was divided into three sections. Section I comprised Grade I, Grade II, and Grade III. Section II consisted of Grade IV, Grade V, and Grade VI, and Section III was made up of Grade VII and Grade VIII. At the end of each section, a centrally administered examination was conducted and only students who met centrally set standards were allowed to proceed to the next section and the rest had to repeat the year. The centrally set examinations frustrated many teachers as a substantial number of their pupils failed to meet the required standards and were forced to repeat grades. High repetition rates not only encouraged dropouts but also reduced the number of new pupils to be admitted into school. Because of these reasons and financial constraints experienced by the Ministry of Education, the common examinations at the end of Section I and Section II were phased out in 1993. The examination at the end of Section III continued to exist because of its importance in selecting students who go to specialized (biased) secondary schools.

Another major policy change also took place in 1978 when a new curriculum reform was introduced at the secondary school level. Under the new reform, some secondary schools were selected to teach a diversified curriculum in which, in addition to general education, students specialized in either agriculture, fisheries and marine sciences, commerce, technical education, or Islamic studies. Students who went to these biased

secondary schools were selected on the basis of their performance in the common examination taken at the end of primary education. Unlike those who continued with general education who had to sit for an examination at the end of Form Three, students in biased secondary schools were assured of four years of secondary education. The number of students who went to biased secondary schools was however very small--less than three per cent of the total secondary school enrollment. Because of technical reasons (lack of appropriate facilities, competent teachers, and poor planning), the fisheries, agriculture, and commerce biases were phased out in 1984. Science and language biases were introduced in early 1990s.

In addition to these changes and reforms, the government released a new education policy in 1992. The major highlights of the new policy are:

- The government has reaffirmed its commitment to providing free education to all segments of the population. In this respect, special emphasis has been given to special education so as to ensure that disabled children and those with special education needs are not denied their right to receive education.

- The structure of the education system changed from 8–3–1–2 to 7–3–2–2. In other words the duration of basic education was reduced from eleven (eight years of primary and three years of junior secondary education) to ten (seven years of primary and three years of junior secondary education) years.

- The policy calls for a new education reform in which special emphasis would be given to the integration of education and productive work.

- In addition to quantitative expansion, the new policy calls for appropriate measures that will improve the quality of education.

- The new policy calls for measures that will improve the working conditions of teachers.

- The new policy allowed the establishment of private schools, particularly at the non-compulsory levels, that is, pre-school and post-basic education levels.

In short, the post revolution period has witnessed many policy changes and reforms. These changes and reforms resulted in rapid quantitative expansion of the education system within a relatively shorter period of time. Despite the remarkable success, as will be shown in subsequent chapters, the rapid expansion of the education system also brought some negative consequences that characterize the Zanzibar education system today.

Administration of Education.

The responsibility to plan and administer education in Zanzibar is entrusted to the Ministry of Education, under the Minister for Education. The chief executive officer (CEO) of the Ministry is the Principal Secretary who is assisted by the Deputy Principal Secretary and directors who head different departments. Currently, there are seven departments as follows:

1. Department of Planning and Administration--responsible for planning and administration of education at all levels. It should be noted that Zanzibar has a centrally planned education system.

2. Department of Pre-school and Basic Education--responsible for pre-school, primary, and non-biased basic secondary education.

3. Department of Higher Education, Science and Technology--responsible for biased secondary education, advanced secondary education, teacher training, technical

education, examinations, and post-secondary education. The department is also responsible for promotion and development of science and technology in Zanzibar.

4. Department of Adult Education--responsible for non-formal education including literacy and post literacy programs, and continuing education for adults.

5. Department of Curriculum Development and Educational Research--responsible for curriculum development, professional development of teachers, preparation and publication of textbooks, and educational research.

6. The Inspectorate--responsible for supervision and evaluation of teachers.

7. Institute of Kiswahili and Foreign Languages--a parastatal affiliated to the Ministry of Education and is responsible for research, teaching, and promotion and development of Swahili language. The institute also has a responsibility of teaching other foreign languages such as English, Arabic, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and German.

The Ministry also has its coordinating office in Pemba and regional and district education offices throughout the Islands. The regional and district offices are headed by regional and district education officers (REOs and DEOs) respectively. These officers are administratively answerable to the regional and district governments but professionally responsible to the Ministry of Education. There are also National, Regional, and District Education Boards which are advisory bodies to the Minister for Education on matters related to policy, reforms, and developments in education in their jurisdictions. The chairperson of the National Education Board is appointed by the Minister for Education. The Registrar of Education is the secretary to the board. The heads of regional and district governments (Regional and District Commissioners) and the REOs and DEOs are the chairperson and secretaries of the regional and district education boards respectively. At

the local level there are school committees which are entrusted with the responsibility of developing education in their respective communities.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to provide background information on Zanzibar. The chapter presented its brief history, socioeconomic background and educational developments that have taken place from the early times to date. In general, several policy changes and reforms have taken place particularly over the last thirty years. To what extent have these policies and reforms affected educational developments is a question that this study tries to answer in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3

Review of Related Literature and Conceptual Framework

Introduction

In order to develop further understanding of the research problem, and to formulate a conceptual framework for the study, a review of literature related to the area under study was carried out. The purpose of this chapter is to present the literature reviewed and explain the conceptual framework employed in the study. The presentation is made under the following sub-headings: (a) universalization of basic education, (b) the rationale for universal basic education, (c) trends and constraints in the provision of basic education in developing countries, and (d) conceptual framework for the study.

Universalization of Basic Education

The concept of universal basic education may be attributed to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights which was adopted in December, 1948. Article 26 of the declaration states:

1. Every one has the right to education; this should be free at least in the elementary and primary stages.

2. Elementary education shall be compulsory while technical and professional education shall be made generally available.

3. Higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

Thus, the need for countries to commit themselves to providing at least elementary education became evident. Education became a fundamental human right and a basic human need, as explained by Noor (1981) who wrote:

> It equips people with fundamental knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes, and enhances their capacity to change and their willingness to accept new ideas. . . . Second, education is seen as a means of meeting other 'core' basic needs. . . . Third, education also plays a critical role for development by infusing on individual an ability to identify with his challenging culture and to seek a constructive role in society. (pp. 2–3)

Many countries therefore adopted policies which aimed at providing basic education to all children of school-going age. According to Hallak (1990), "basic education for all" is the number one priority of the international community today.

The concept of universal basic education, although it has become familiar in many places, still lacks precise definition. One major reason is that the duration of basic education varies from country to country and in some places it embraces both formal and non formal education. In the formal school system, basic education is normally equivalent to primary schooling and its duration varies from six to eight years. There are however many countries including Zanzibar where basic education extends beyond primary schooling and includes the first few years of secondary education. Its duration varies between nine and twelve years. When basic education covers primary schooling only the term universal primary education (UPE) is normally used; and when it includes secondary education, a more general term, universal basic education (UBE) is employed. When talking of universalization of education for all eligible children, the two terms are used interchangeably.

Omari et al. (1983) agreed with the notion that UBE or UPE lacks precise definition when they compiled its various meanings found in the literature. According to them, UBE/UPE is used as a synonym for:

- The capacity, within a network of primary schools, to provide spaces for all children;
- The mandatory attendance of all school-age children for a stipulated period, which entails enacting a compulsory attendance law; making school pleasant, attractive, rewarding, and inspiring; as well as solving family labor and financial problems resulting from the absence of children from home;

- Universal accessibility--geographic, socioeconomic, and cultural--to primary school;
- Enrollment of all school-age children in grade one of primary school, which may require physically bringing them to school;
- The capacity to provide enough grade one places for the school age group regardless of what happens later or what decisions have been made about compulsory versus voluntary registration and attendance;
- Universal literacy, with instruction available to anyone, irrespective of age, regularity of attendance, etc.; and
- Universal, free, compulsory education. (p. 9)

According to Fredriksen (1983), a country is usually said to have achieved UPE/UBE when the number of pupils registered at school equals the number of children of the corresponding school age.

It is clear from the various interpretations of UPE/UBE above, that, depending upon which definition a particular country adopts, educational policies geared towards universalization of basic education will differ from one country to another. In the spirit of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, many countries have adopted the definition which embraces provision of universal, free, and compulsory basic education for a specified duration within a defined age range.

The Rationale for Universal Basic Education

The importance of education has been emphasized since the days of early classical economists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It became clear to economists such as Adam Smith in 1776 and Marshall in the 1890s that education had both direct and indirect benefits to the individual who receives it and to the community in which he/she belongs. Smith (1952) understood that without education, the working people would be alienated from the society to the extent that the principle of division of labor could not be operational. He believed that the poor must be educated "in order to prevent the almost entire corruption and degeneracy of the great body of the people" (pp. 340–343).

Marshall (1961) explained the benefits of education as follows:

> But a good education confers great benefits even on the ordinary workman. It stimulates his mental activity; it fosters in him a habit of wise inquisitiveness; it makes him more intelligent, more ready, more trustworthy in his ordinary work; it raises the tone of his life in working hours and out side working hours; it is thus an important means towards the production of material wealth; at the same time that, regarded as an end in itself, it is inferior to none of those which the production of material wealth can be made to subserve. (p. 211)

The provision of at least primary education to individuals was also seen as a necessity when early economists began to link education and productivity. Education as a major means of acquiring skills was considered to be the main contribution of human capital. Investment in education was therefore considered similar to investment in other physical assets. Smith (1952) pointed out that "a man educated at the expense of much labor and time . . . may be compared to one of those expensive machines" (p. 42). Marshall (1961) emphasized the importance of education as a national investment and acknowledged that the most valuable of all capital is that invested in human beings. Schultz (1963) maintained that increased investment in human capital increases individual productivity and income and concurrently lays the technical foundation for the type of labor force necessary for economic growth in modern industrial society. The African countries' conference on education held by Unesco in Addis Ababa in 1961 also acknowledged the importance of education:

> Economists have always recognized that increase in the national income are attributable not merely to the accumulation of physical capital, but also to the improvement of human capacity through research, education, inventions, and the improvement of public health as well as better organization of human relations, whether in business, social or public institutions. . . . It is difficult to isolate the proportion of the increase in production which is due to education, since the factors which contribute to the improvement of human capacity cover much a wider area than is usually included in "education", as defined for budgetary purposes. Nevertheless there is no disputing that expenditure on some forms of education is an investment which more than pays for itself even in the narrowest economic terms. (Unesco, 1961, p. 9)

Though it is more difficult to demonstrate a relationship between education and economic growth, Hallak (1990) maintained that education plays an important role in economic development when he wrote:

> There is historical evidence to support the opinion that none of the presently rich industrialized countries was able to achieve significant economic growth before attaining universal primary education. Furthermore, the most successful of the newly industrialized countries--Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong--and those with fastest growing GNP's in the 1960's and 1970's--Thailand, Portugal, Greece, and others--had usually achieved UPE before their economy began to ascent. (p. 47)

According to Lockheed et al. (1991), education is a cornerstone for economic and social development; primary or basic education is its foundation:

> It improves the productive capacities of societies and their political, economic, and scientific institutions. It also helps reduce poverty by mitigating its effects on population, health, and nutrition and by increasing the value and efficiency of the labor offered by the poor. As economies worldwide are transformed by technological advances and new methods of production that depend on a well-trained and intellectually flexible labor force education becomes even more significant. (p. 1)

A policy paper by World Bank (1990) aptly summarized the importance of basic education as follows:

> In considering the effects of education on economic productivity, a wide number of studies conclude that investment in primary education yield returns that are typically well above the opportunity cost of the capital. One study showed that four years of education increased small-farm productivity by 7% across thirteen developing countries and by 10% where new agricultural techniques were being introduced. The social effects of education in developing countries are also positive. Women with more than four years of education have 30% fewer children than women with no education, and their children have mortality rates only half as high. Children of educated parents are also likely to enroll in school and to complete more years of school than children of uneducated parents. (p. 10)

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that provision of at least basic education to all segments of the population is well justified from the human rights, cultural, social and economic points of view. Despite the strong justification for universal basic education, there are many problems in the developing world that have denied many children access to basic education.

Trends and Constraints in the Provision of Basic Education in Developing Countries

Trends and constraints in the universalization of basic education

In the early 1960s, Unesco held a series of conferences aimed at mobilizing countries to implement Article 26 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. The conferences were held in Karachi in 1960, Addis Ababa in 1961, Santiago in 1962, and Tripoli in 1966, for Asia, Africa, Latin America and Arab states respectively. The Karachi conference called for the provision of universal and free primary education of at least seven years by 1980 (Unesco, 1960). The Addis Ababa conference called for primary education to be "universal, compulsory, and free by 1980" (Unesco, 1961, p. 20). The same target was set by the conference of Arab states. The conference for Latin American states resolved to "ensure that before the end of the present decade, all children can attend a primary education . . . not shorter than six years (Unesco, 1962, p. 4). As a result of these conferences, many countries of the developing world introduced policies aimed at providing basic education to all children of school-going age.

Despite the several policies and legislation geared toward achieving universal basic or primary education, the situation in developing countries is not at all impressive. According to Schoeman and Gajraji (1991), though the worldwide enrollment in primary education has grown from 332 million in 1969 to 593 million in 1988, a significant proportion of primary school-age children in developing countries are not attending school. In Sub-Saharan Africa, 38 million children or 49 per cent of the region's primary school-age population were not enrolled in school. In Southern Asia, about 52 million children or 39 per cent of the region's primary school-age population were not attending school. In Arab states, about 9 million children, which was about 30 per cent of the primary school-age population, were not enrolled in school. The number of primary school-age children who were not attending school in East Asia and Oceania was about four million or 19 per

cent of the school-age population; and about 18 million were not attending school in Latin America by the end of 1988. The situation is thus more desperate in the Sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Asia.

Several factors were responsible for the observed situation. Berstecher and Carr-Hill (1990) reported that "the difficulties of providing adequate and appropriate education have been compounded in many developing countries by economic recession, inflation and mounting external debt" (p. 6). A survey carried out by Smith (1979) in various Commonwealth countries regarding implementation of UPE policies indicated that costs of schooling, problems of irrelevant curricula, problems of inadequate physical resources, problems of teacher supply and retention, problems of teacher qualifications, problems of drop-outs, and problems of inequality of access were major constraints affecting the provision of basic education to all school-age children. Most of the problems found by Smith (1979) such as poor physical resources, shortage and inadequate qualification of teachers, and inequality of access might be due to cost constraints. Other problems, however, were not directly related to costs but might be due to organizational, managerial, and planning problems, or the nature and type of basic education delivered by the systems. Smith (1979) concluded by maintaining that "the constraints affecting primary schooling boil down to the two basic issues of quality and costs" (p. 49).

Another significant factor that has affected the provision of universal basic education is the high rate of illiteracy amongst parents and their attitude to use children in their own activities. Oyedeji (1983) shared this view in discussing the implementation of UPE in Nigeria when he acknowledged that:

> the Universal Primary Education is not likely to succeed in this generation if the 80 per cent illiterates in this country today remain so in the midst of UPE children. They may not truly sympathize with the purpose of UPE as the scheme implies the denial of domestic service which illiterate parents have been enjoying from their children. The children themselves may not be totally emancipated from illiteracy and ignorance if they live a greater part of the day with illiterates who cannot help them in their learning or even finding out what they do in school from time to time. (p. 69)

Two conclusions can be drawn from Oyedeji's views. The first one is that illiterate parents are most likely not concerned with the education of their children because they are not aware of its importance or they do not see the immediate advantage of sending their children to school. The second conclusion is that opportunity costs to the parents of sending their children to school is a major obstacle towards universalization of basic education. These two conclusions are supported by findings made by Chernichovsky (1985) in Botswana who found that the level of education of the head of house-hold had a positive effect on children's schooling. He found that educated parents send more children to school and keep them longer in school than uneducated parents. He also found that the wealthier families in rural Botswana, who can substitute for child labor, allowed their children to go to school.

Low participation rates of girls in basic education is another factor that inhibits full universalization of primary or basic education. Berstecher and Carr-Hill (1990) reported that the situation was least favorable in the least developed countries. In more than half of the countries, the proportion of female enrollment was less than 40 per cent. When explaining the reason for low participation rate of females in one state of Nigeria, Bray (1981) wrote:

> this is because many parents, and even some officials, do not support the concept of equal schooling, especially after the age of twelve. This is mainly for religious and cultural reasons, though it partly reflects feelings that Western-type education is mainly useful for obtaining jobs, and that since girls are unlikely to seek paid employment, they are less in need for schooling. (p. 161)

Other factors that were found to have affected the participation of girls in schooling include: inequitable distribution of schools, particularly in rural areas; decisions of some parents to restrict the physical mobility of their children, particularly older girls; late admission of girls into schools and increased possibility of early pregnancies and marriages; the demand for girls' household labor; and perceived irrelevance of academic schooling to employment

opportunities and lifestyles available to young women (Chamie, 1983; Hyde, 1993; King & Hill, 1993).

In addition to low female participation rates, there are much larger disparities between urban and rural areas. According to the World Bank (1988), most countries in Sub -Saharan Africa can be said to have two school systems, namely, urban and rural. "The former has close to universal enrollment; in the latter schools are scattered and may not offer all grade levels, and enrollment ratios are much lower" (p. 39). In Côte d'Ivoire, for example, 30 per cent of school-age children in rural areas were not attending school (Glewwe, 1988). Similarly, in Guatemala 56 per cent of urban seven year-olds were in school as compared to 25 per cent of rural children (Lourie, 1982).

Another factor that has affected the universalization of basic education in developing countries is high repetition and dropout rates. A study by Verhine and de Melo (1988) in the state of Bahia in Brazil showed that the repetition/dropout rate in primary schools was about 66 per cent. In Sub-Saharan Africa, repeaters accounted for 16 per cent of primary enrollments and because of dropout only 61 per cent of those who enter the first grade reach the final grade of primary education (World Bank, 1988). A study done by Venkatasubramanian (1982) in Tamil Nadu State in India, showed that financial difficulties and the need to help parents in their jobs were the main reasons mentioned by 80 per cent of the surveyed dropouts. Other reasons for school dropouts in developing countries include: (a) the family's need for child labor, (b) long walking distance from home to school, (c) teachers' absenteeism, and (d) repetition (Rosen, 1992; Hedstrom, 1992). Hallak (1990) explained the causes of repetition:

> The problem is often linked with absenteeism. In many developing countries, teachers' salaries are low, and they are obliged to take second jobs and be absent from school. Parents are poor, and children must try to earn money or help in the fields at home, and so miss school. The school year may already be short and absenteeism makes it even shorter. . . . If the time spent in school helps to determine how much pupils learn, then this has a powerful influence on the quality of education. In addressing the issue of

> high repetition rates which affect many countries, the question of absenteeism should not be overlooked. (p. 39)

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that universalization of basic education in developing countries is far from being reached. Several factors hinder the realization of UPE/UBE goal. The factors are economic, social, as well as cultural. The economic factors include those of diminishing funds for financing education as a result of economic decline in many developing countries. The shortage of funds for financing education has resulted in a shortage of physical resources, teachers and teaching materials, all of which have negative consequences on the increasing enrollment of school-age children. Economic decline has also been compounded by high population growth in many developing countries. The social factors include high illiteracy rates and poverty in most families. The cultural factors include traditions that prevent girls from attending school. The message that is conveyed is that even if the economy of these countries improves, and a greater share of government budgets goes to education, there are still many social and cultural barriers that must be overcome before the dream of attaining universal basic education becomes a reality.

Trends in Quality

In addition to problems of quantitative achievements, there were also concerns of quality. Regarding the situation in the Sub-Saharan Africa, the World Bank (1988) noted:

> Warnings of falling quality have become even more persistent in recent years as the financial squeeze between ever tighter budgets and larger pupil cohorts has starved education systems of essential operating inputs such as text-books, and facility maintenance. Poor quality in primary education is a serious matter because this is the only formal education that most of the today's African children can hope ever to receive and because the quality of primary education plays a great role in determining the quality of all higher levels of education. (p. 39)

Evidence of low education quality in developing countries have been reported in several studies including those of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational

Achievement (IEA). In general, studies of educational achievement conducted by IEA have shown that students from developing countries performed poorly compared to those in developed countries (IEA, 1988; Postlethwaite & Wiley, 1992). Lockheed et al. (1991) also reported that poor educational achievement in developing countries was not only observed in international achievement tests but also in national tests and examinations.

Several factors have been associated with low education quality in developing countries. These factors include the training and use of teachers, availability of instructional materials, conditions of school buildings and facilities, the school management system, and evaluation and examination practices (World Bank, 1988).

Teachers' academic and professional training has a direct impact on the quality of education (Avalos & Hadad, 1981). Studies have shown that effective teaching depends upon teachers' knowledge of subject matter and pedagogy (Schiefelbeim & Simmons,1981; Heyneman & Loxely, 1983). According to Lockheed et al. (1991) for teachers to function as an independent source of information, they should have a general academic performance that is superior to the level of the students they are teaching. However rapid expansion of the school systems in many developing countries forced those countries to recruit unqualified persons for teaching jobs (Hallak, 1990). This move helped to reduce the problem of a shortage of teachers but it significantly affected the quality of education. Furthermore, the teaching methods were not conducive to student learning. According to Lockheed et al. (1991), the teaching methods in developing countries are characterized by:

> (a) instruction for the whole class that emphasizes lectures by the teacher, has students copy from the blackboard, and offers them few opportunity to ask questions or participate in learning, (b) student memorization of texts with few opportunities to work actively with the material, and (c) little ongoing monitoring and assessment of student learning through homework, class quizzes, or tests. (p. 67)

A study by Fuller and Snyder (1991) in Botswana indicated that 54 per cent of the observed instructional time was spent on lectures and 43 per cent on oral recitation. There was hardly any time left for students' participation and discussion.

Another factor that was found to affect the quality of education in developing countries is poor motivation of teachers. Poor motivation of teachers results in absenteeism, sabotage in the classrooms, and early resignation from the teaching profession. Lockheed et al. (1991) identified the reasons behind poor motivation of teachers as:

> (a) absolute salaries that are so low teachers must hold other jobs to supplement their income, (b) lower salaries than those of workers in the private sector or secondary teachers, (c) poor working conditions, (d) scarce opportunities for professional advancement, and (e) deficient local supervision, authority, and administrative procedures. (p. 102)

The quality of basic education in developing countries has also been affected by shortage or lack of appropriate instructional materials particularly text-books. Several studies have shown that availability of text-books and other instructional materials has a significant impact on student achievement in developing countries (Heyneman, Farrel, & Sepulveda-Stuardo, 1981; Heyneman & Loxely, 1983). Altbach (1983), on emphasizing the importance of text-books in improving the quality of education, noted: "Nothing has ever replaced the printed word as the key element in the educational process and, as a result text-books are central to schooling at all levels" (p. 315). According to the World Bank (1988), "the scarcity of teaching materials in the class-room is the most serious impediment to educational effectiveness in Africa. It is here that the gap in educational provision between the region and the rest of the world has grown widest" (p. 42).

The conditions of school buildings and other physical facilities were also found to have significant effect on the quality of education. The World Bank (1988) noted that dilapidated buildings, missing or broken chairs, and lack of good sanitation and ventilation facilities are very common in African schools particularly in rural areas. "One effect of

low-standard, poorly maintained facilities may be to discourage pupil attendance" (World Bank, 1988, p. 43). A study by Urwick and Junaidu (1991) on the effect of school facilities on the process of education in Nigeria showed that the quality of education is strongly influenced by furniture provision, classroom maintenance, and other physical inputs. According to them, poor physical facilities demoralize both teachers and students and the teaching/learning processes are affected significantly.

Another factor that has been identified as contributing to the inferior quality of education is the use of a double shift system in many developing countries. Hallak (1990), explained the effect of double shift schooling on the quality of education:

> While dual use of building makes sense in a poor country, some buildings are the daily scene of three entire schools. Maintenance and cleaning are slapdash if not non-existent, the class-rooms are increasingly drab and impersonal, and both teachers and students become more and more demoralized as time goes by. (p. 35)

He further noted:

> If a building is to support double shifts, it must have safe storage facilities, but these are rarely available. Equipment is confined to what teachers and students can carry away each day. Teachers are unable to set up projects, charts, continuing experiments or displays of pupils work, which plays such an important part in good primary teaching. They cannot linger with eager students to follow up an activity that has interested them. (p. 34)

While observations made above by Hallak (1990) tend to indicate that the use of double shift system may have a negative impact on the quality of education, Fuller (1987) reported that research studies in this area are too few to make a generalization. Out of three studies that Fuller (1987) reviewed, two concluded that the use of double shift system did not have an effect on the quality of education.

The quality of education in developing countries is also affected by the nature and type of the school management system. School effectiveness and hence the quality of education is highly influenced by the prevailing school management system. There is general agreement in the literature that school principals or head-teachers play a significant

role in bringing about school improvement (Fullan, 1991). According to Lockheed et al. (1991), "effective schools have strong principals or headteachers who devote considerable time to coordinating and managing instruction, and are highly visible in the school, and stay close to the instructional process" (p. 44). However, for the principals to have an effective role in their leadership for school improvement, they must have the necessary academic, professional and management skills. Experience from many developing countries shows that school principals or head teachers do not have the necessary training, and their selection depends mainly upon their seniority rather than their personal traits or performance (Lockheed et al. 1991). A study by Heyneman and Loxely (1983) in Egypt reported that students performed better in schools with school heads who had more training courses and longer experience in teaching before becoming heads of schools. Furthermore, the type and nature of supervision practices employed by the head teachers or other education supervisors (school inspectors) on teachers in the classroom has been found to affect the quality of teaching and academic achievement of students (Raudenbush, Eamsukkawat, Di-Ibor, Kamali, & Taoklam, 1993).

Another factor that has been found to affect the quality of education in developing countries is the nature of the relationship between the community/parents and the schools. It is now generally accepted that parents' involvement in school activities affect their children's achievement in schools (Epstein, 1986; Fullan, 1991). According to Fullan (1991), the main forms of parent involvement include: (a) parent involvement at school (for example, volunteers and assistants), (b) parent involvement in learning activities at home (for example, assisting children at home with their homework and home tutoring), (c) home/community school relations (for example, communication), and (d) governance (for example, advisory councils). "A close partnership between home and school is an indispensable foundation for the school's work. Parental interest, approval, and support create the right conditions for their children's motivation to learn and their regular attendance at school (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1991, p. 24).

In conclusion, it is evident from the review of literature, that provision of universal basic education was and is still well justified because basic education is a fundamental human right, and plays a significant role in social, cultural, economic, and political development of individuals and the society at large. However the implementation of basic education programs in many developing countries faced enormous challenges. These challenges included rapid quantitative expansion of school systems so as to keep pace with high population growth, at the same time providing or at least maintaining a good quality education and struggling with wide-spread problems of educational disparity. Experiences from many countries have shown that the quantitative achievements were gained at the expense of qualitative improvements.

Therefore in evaluating the performance of the basic education system in Zanzibar, there is need to look at both quantitative and qualitative aspects of the education system and how the policies have contributed to the current situation. There is also need to investigate how the policies have taken into account the problems of educational disparities that existed between different parts of the country and between males and females.

Conceptual Framework for the Study

This study had two main objectives: (a) to evaluate the performance of the basic education system in Zanzibar and (b) to find out what factors affected the performance of the system. In order to fulfill the first objective of the study, an evaluation model that could suit the purpose was needed. In this study, the evaluation was based on the "countenance of evaluation model" developed by Stake (1967). The second objective of the study was met by replicating some of the factors identified in the literature as affecting the provision of basic education in developing countries. The two parts of the conceptual framework are briefly discussed in the following sections.

The Countenance Of Evaluation Model

The countenance of evaluation model was developed by Robert E. Stake (1967). Stake identified two countenances or faces of evaluation, namely description and judgment. This model basically assumes an education or a school system to be a social system that can be broken down into inputs, processes, and outputs. Stake (1967) referred to them as antecedents, transactions, and outcomes respectively. The Stake's model can be presented diagramatically as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Diagrammatic Presentation of Stake's Model

	Description Matrix		Judgment Matrix	
	Intents	Observations	Standards	Judgments
Antecedents (inputs)	X	X	X	X
Transactions (processes)	X	X	X	X
Outcomes (Outputs)	X	X	X	X

In this model, the main job of the evaluator is to find data required in the different cells of the table, compare observations and intents and derive judgments based upon agreed or recognized standards or targets. Hence appropriate documents were consulted and a questionnaire was developed so as to obtain data for the cells.

Factors Affecting the Performance of the Basic Education System

A review of literature revealed several important issues which were reflected in the research questions. These issues formed the basis for constructing a questionnaire that was used to find opinions of the heads of schools regarding the factors that affect education

performance in their schools in quantitative (enrollments) and qualitative (academic achievements) terms.

Summary

This chapter presented the literature reviewed for the purpose of understanding further the research problem and to develop a conceptual framework that could guide the study. In general, several factors have been identified that hindered the provision of basic education both quantitatively and qualitatively. These factors included financial constraints, inadequate physical facilities, cultural traditions, planning and management problems, dropout problems, poor learning environments, shortage of teachers, poor motivation of teachers, poor supervision and evaluation practices, inadequate and inappropriate curricula, and a shortage of teaching materials. The chapter concluded by presenting the conceptual framework that has guided the study.

Chapter 4

Research Design and Methodology

Introduction

This research was basically a quantitative study aimed at extracting information that could be used to evaluate basic education in Zanzibar. The study also aimed at finding the factors that affected the provision of basic education both quantitatively and qualitatively. Based on the nature and type of research questions asked in the study, it is logical to argue that this study was both evaluative and descriptive in nature. The study was also historical in nature in the sense that it examined the development of the education system over a span of ten years. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the procedures for data collection and data analysis.

Procedure For Data Collection

In carrying out this study, three methods were used to collect data and information. These were: (a) document analysis, (b) researcher's own experience in the Zanzibar education system and (c) a questionnaire administered to heads of primary and secondary schools.

Document Analysis

Valuable information used in the study was obtained through document analysis. Documents are an important source of data in many areas of investigation. According to Best and Kahn (1993), document analysis "serves a useful purpose in adding knowledge to fields of inquiry and in explaining certain social events" (p. 191). Examination of documents, according to Borg and Gall (1989) "has the advantage of being relatively

complete and quick, since all the relevant information is usually stored in one location" (p. 418). The following documents and records were consulted:

1. The national population census reports of 1978 and 1988. These reports were used to extract the number of school-age children. They were also used to calculate the inter-census growth rate which was applied in projecting school-age populations for various years.

2. The Ministry of Education's annual statistical abstracts were used to obtain data on school enrollments, number and qualification of teachers, number of schools, classrooms, and classes.

3. The Ministry of Education's annual examination reports to obtain data on Form Three examination results for various years.

4. The Minister for Education budget speech pamphlets of various years. These pamphlets were valuable in obtaining policy statements, issues and actions that were related to several aspects of the study.

5. The Ministry of Finance's annual budget books. These books provided data on total public and education expenditures for various years.

6. The Zanzibar new education policy document.

7. The Zanzibar Education Act No. 6 of 1982.

All these documents not only provided information that was not easily obtainable from the schools, but also helped to shorten the questionnaire submitted to school heads. A relatively short questionnaire facilitated quick and accurate response from the respondents.

My Personal Experience

This method of data collection involved the reflection and recollection of my own experiences in the Zanzibar education system. In addition to being a student, I have served in the Ministry of Education under different capacities including teaching, headmastership, supervision, and various senior executive and leadership positions. I am therefore a witness to various educational developments that have taken place during the last thirty years.

Questionnaire Survey

Based on the nature and type of research questions asked in this study, a descriptive design which utilizes a survey as a method of data collection was found to be appropriate. According to Moore (1983), "the purpose of survey research is to obtain information that describes existing phenomena by asking the individuals their perceptions, attitudes, behaviors or values" (pp. 174–175). Several techniques are available for collecting survey information. Borg and Gall (1989), singled out the questionnaire and individual interview as "the most common instruments for data collection in survey research" (p. 418).

In this study, a questionnaire survey was preferred to interviews because the researcher was unable to travel from Canada to Zanzibar. A questionnaire also has the following advantages over the interview:

> They (1) are usually less costly to the researcher, (2) are easier to administer, (3) do not create problem of interviewer turnover and training, (4) may create more trust in the anonymity of the respondent's answer to personal or embarrassing topics, (5) can include items such as checklists and ratings that are sometimes too time-consuming or unwieldy when read by the interviewer, (6) are not affected by characteristics of the interviewer, and (7) create less pressure for immediate reply especially mailed questionnaire. (Dyer, 1979, p. 157)

Despite these advantages, there are several disadvantages of using questionnaires. Sax (1979) cautioned on the disadvantages of questionnaires:

> First, the motivation of the respondent is difficult to check. . . . Without knowing how motivated the respondents are, the validity of their responses is difficult to check. A second disadvantage of the questionnaire, and especially those that are mailed, is the assumption that the respondents are literate.
>
> Sampling is a third disadvantage of the questionnaire. Because each questionnaire that is not returned increases the likelihood of biased sampling, every effort should be made to obtain 100 per cent return. The percentage of returns depends on such factors as the length of the questionnaire, the reputation of sponsoring agency, the complexity of the questions asked, the relative importance of the study as judged by the respondent, the extent to which respondent believes that his or her responses are important, and the quality and design of the questionnaire itself. (p. 246)

These disadvantages were born in mind during the development of the questionnaire. For example, in order to ensure high motivation and response, participation in this study was made voluntary and each participant had an option to quit any time. Furthermore, anonymity and confidentiality of the participants were assured through the covering letter sent to all participants. Also, the covering letter explained the purpose and significance of the research, and the importance of their participation in order to ensure a high participation rate. Moreover, official endorsement of the research proposal by senior authorities of the Ministry of Education and their willingness to distribute and collect the questionnaire gave the participants the confidence that the study was of significant value and their participation was vital.

In addition to these measures, the questionnaire was reviewed by three Tanzanian teachers currently studying at the university of Alberta and my research supervisor so as to ensure good design, quality and relevance. Several suggestions from these reviews were incorporated in the final version that was forwarded to the participants. All these measures helped to overcome the limitations and disadvantages of using a questionnaire as a method of data collection.

Development of the Questionnaire.

Borg and Gall (1989), outlined seven steps that must be taken to carry out a successful questionnaire survey. These steps include (a) defining objectives, (b) selecting a sample, (c) writing items, (d) constructing the questionnaire, (e) pretesting, (f) preparing a letter of transmittal, and (g) sending out the questionnaire and follow-ups. These steps were used as guidelines during the development of the questionnaire.

Based on the research questions and the extensive review of literature, a list of questionnaire items necessary to meet the objectives of the study was prepared. From the list of the items a full questionnaire was constructed. The questionnaire essentially focused on the following: (a) characteristics of the participants, (b) characteristic of the schools, and (c) perceptions of the participants on the factors affecting enrollment of children and quality of education in their schools. The final questionnaire is included as Appendix 1 of this document.

The questionnaire items on the characteristic of the participants included gender, age, academic and professional qualifications, date of employment, and their work experience. These items were asked because a review of the literature had shown that some of the characteristics such as academic and professional qualifications and work experience have an impact on the efficiency and quality of education, both of which are crucial areas of investigation in this study.

The questionnaire items on school characteristics included questions on the type of the school (whether primary, secondary, or mixed), location (in which district, and whether urban or rural), academic and professional qualifications of teachers, nature and conditions of physical facilities (buildings, furniture and equipment), availability of teaching materials, and school community relationships. These items were included because of their relevance in assessing educational disparities and quality of education.

The questionnaire items on the perceptions of the participants on the factors affecting school enrollments and quality of education were of two types: structured and unstructured questions. The structured questions were constructed using information found in the literature and researcher's own experience regarding factors affecting enrollment of school-age children and quality of education. The questions were pre-defined, Likert-type responses. These questions, typically asked the respondents to state an opinion on a particular given statement by means of a five point scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

The unstructured part of the questionnaire asked respondents to mention, in their own words, any other factors that affected enrollment of children and quality of education in their schools and suggestions they might have to improve the situation. This part of the questionnaire aimed at providing the participants an opportunity to give their opinions and suggestions on various issues related to the study that might have been overlooked in the structured part of the questionnaire.

Participants.

The participants in this study were the heads of schools which provided basic education, that is headmasters/headmistresses of primary and secondary schools. During the time of the study, there were 144 headmasters/headmistresses of primary and secondary schools. The number was manageable and all of them were requested to participate in the study. Therefore questionnaires were distributed to 144 school heads. Out of those, 131 participants returned the questionnaire indicating a very good response rate of about 91 per cent. Among those who participated in the study, 14 were females and 31 were heads of urban schools.

The major purpose of the study was to evaluate basic education in Zanzibar and to find out the factors that have affected its performance. Schools are the place where

ultimately most of the education policies and programs are implemented. The success or failure of those policies or programs would be judged from how the schools performed during implementation. Because school heads were the main agents of change in schools, they were the right people to be asked about the reasons for success or failure of the various policies or programs implemented in their schools.

In addition to being administrators and professional leaders of their schools, school heads are at the same time parents and members of the community in which they belong and serve; they are community leaders; they are teachers as well as part of the government bureaucracy. From these different roles, school heads represent various stakeholders in education including educational administrators, teachers, community leaders, and parents. They were therefore in a better position to provide the necessary information needed for this study.

Administration of the questionnaire.

Before the questionnaire was sent to the participants, permission to conduct research in Zanzibar was requested from the Ministry of Education in Zanzibar. The request was made through the telephone, and followed by a formal letter. Meanwhile, the questionnaire was distributed to the Tanzanian teachers studying at the University of Alberta for their critical review and suggestions. All the teachers were former heads of schools in Tanzania and possessed some of the qualities of the intended participants. Hence they served as participants in a pilot study. The questionnaire was also reviewed by my research professor and my supervisor. Constructive criticisms from my research professor and supervisor and the results of the pilot study helped to refine the design and content of the questionnaire, thus increasing its validity and reliability.

After receiving approval from the Ministry of Education in Zanzibar, a letter of transmittal to be sent to the participants was prepared. The importance of the letter of

transmittal in facilitating responses from the participants was emphasized by Borg and Gall (1989) who wrote: "Perhaps the most important single factor in determining the percentage of responses you will obtain is the letter of transmittal used with your questionnaire" (p. 436). This brief letter included information on the purpose and significance of the study, the time limit within which the questionnaire should be completed and returned, and assurances of anonymity and confidentiality. The letter of transmittal is included as Appendix 2 of this document.

The letter together with the questionnaire and self-addressed envelopes were mailed to the Acting Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Education in Zanzibar who kindly assigned some officials to distribute them to the participants and collect them back after they were completed. The Acting Principal Secretary then mailed back the completed questionnaire to the researcher in Canada.

Procedure for Data Analysis

"Data processing includes those procedures used to convert raw information into a form capable of being interpreted" (Sax, 1979, p. 313). In this section, the procedure that was used to analyze data is explained and various indicators that were used to provide answers to the research questions are defined.

Evaluating the Basic Education System

Most of the raw data that were used in evaluating the basic education system were obtained from official documents. The first step was therefore to organize the raw data in tabular form that would facilitate the computation of the defined indicators. Once the relevant indicators were calculated, they were compared against either known or researcher's own standards. The final step was to make sound judgments from the comparison and draw reasonable conclusions. Several indicators that were used in this study will now be explained.

Indicators of universalization of basic education.

The universalization of basic education was measured by enrollment rates. They indicate the proportion of children in a particular age group who are in the education system at each level. Two types of enrollment rates were calculated:

Gross enrollment rate (GER) provides a comparison of the total enrollment at a particular level, with the official school age population at that level (Berstecher and Car-Hill, 1990). For Zanzibar, the official basic education range is six to 16 years. Thus the GER was computed as follows:

$$\text{GER.} = \frac{\text{Total enrollment at basic education level--Grade I to Form 3}}{\text{Population of official school-age children (6–16 year-olds).}} \times 100$$

Net enrollment rates (NER) do not take into account those children who are outside the official school-age range. For the school population in Zanzibar, the NER was computed as follows:

$$\text{NER} = \frac{\text{Number of 6–16 year-olds enrolled at basic education level}}{\text{Population of official school-age children (6–16 year olds).}} \times 100$$

A country is said to have achieved universal basic education if the enrollment rate at the basic education level equals 100 per cent (Fredriksen, 1983) The NER is the measure of the coverage of the education system as opposed to the GER which measures the capacity of the school system. A more accurate measure of universalization of basic education is the NER, but because of difficulties of obtaining enrollment data by age, the GER is normally used for convenience. GERs at national and district levels were calculated by year and gender and the results were discussed accordingly.

Indicators of internal efficiency of the basic education system.

The internal efficiency of basic education system was measured by using survival rates . Survival rate (SR) is a measure of the proportion of entering students who can be expected to reach the final grade of basic education given prevailing rates of promotion, repetition, and drop-outs. For the Zanzibar education system with eleven years of basic education, children who started school in 1982 were expected to reach the final grade of basic education (Form Three) in 1992 and the survival rate is defined as follows:

$$SR = \frac{\text{Number of children admitted into Grade 1 in 1982}}{\text{Number of children of the same cohort in Form 3 in 1992}} \times 100$$

The survival rates at national and district levels were calculated by year and gender and the results were discussed accordingly. Low survival rates indicate that the education system is characterized by high repetition and /or drop-out rates which implies poor internal efficiency of the education system. In this study an increase in survival rates over the years was considered to indicate an improvement in the internal efficiency of the basic education system.

Indicators of the quality of basic education.

The main indicator that was used to measure the quality of basic education was the transition rate (TR). It represents the ratio of students who passed and selected to continue with post-basic secondary education (Form Four) to the number of students who sat for the national examination at the end of basic education (Form Three). Thus,

$$TR = \frac{\text{Number of students who passed and continued with post-basic education}}{\text{Number of candidates who sat for the National Form Three examinations}} \times 100$$

Since all those students who qualified were selected to continue with further education, transition rates are measure of the quality of education. Transition rates for various years

were calculated by district and gender and the results were discussed accordingly. An increase in transition rates over the years was regarded as an indication of improvement in the quality of education.

In addition to transition rates, several other indicators of the quality of education were also calculated and analyzed accordingly. These indicators included the pupil-teacher ratios, class sizes, and the recurrent unit cost per student.

Analyzing the Perceptions of School Heads

One aspect of this study was to use school heads' opinions in determining the factors that affected education performance in their schools. Both the structured and unstructured questions were used to get the opinions from the school heads.

Structured questions.

The opinions were extracted from a series of Likert scale questions. There were 27 questions of which 14 were concerned with factors that affected enrollment of school-age children and 13 were concerned with the factors that affected the quality of education. For each statement, the frequencies and percentages of responses were calculated. The five categories of responses from the five-point Likert scale were finally reduced to three broad categories, namely, agree, uncertain, and disagree. The frequencies were used rather than means because means may sometimes be misleading due to the extreme values both at the upper and lower end of the Likert scales. Furthermore, the frequencies were used because of the fairly large number of respondents. A factor which got a frequency of at least 50 per cent was considered to be most common and a factor that got a frequency of less than 50 per cent was regarded as less common.

Unstructured questions.

Content analysis was used to analyze the responses from the unstructured or open ended questions (Atkins, 1984). This method involved a process of reading through all the responses for each question and finding themes. In this manner, a set of themes for a particular item was obtained. The number of frequencies and percentages for each category was computed and the results were analyzed and discussed accordingly.

Summary

This chapter has presented the research design and methodology for the study. Included in the discussion were the instruments of data collection and methods of data analysis. In addition to document analysis as a method of data collection, a detailed description of the questionnaire survey used in this study was given. Also various indicators and methods that were used in analyzing the data were presented.

Chapter 5

Performance of the Basic Education System

Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of data on the evaluation of the basic education in Zanzibar. The evaluation was based on the major policy objectives of basic education, namely, (a) universalization of basic education, (b) improvement in the internal efficiency of the education system, and (c) improvement in the quality of education.

Universalization of Basic Education

The universalization of any level of education is measured by gross enrollment rates (GER). A country is usually said to have achieved universal basic education when its GER for this level of education is 100 per cent, that is, when the number of pupils attending school regularly equals the number of school-age children (Fredriksen, 1983). According to Carron and Châu (1981), "the GER is the most readily available indicator for the measuring the degree of quantitative expansion of the education system" (p. 4). It provides a measure of opportunity of access to schooling and reflects the capacity of the school system in providing educational services to the desired population (Chantavanich et al., 1990).

The GERs for the period 1982–1992 were calculated by year and gender and the results are shown in Table 3. Several observations can be made from the trends in GERs shown in Table 3. The most obvious one is that there was a decline in gross enrollment rates from 61.35 per cent in 1982 to 57.93 per cent in 1992 indicating an average negative growth rate of about 0.57 per cent. The decline in GERs was observed in both males and females. Another observation is that the GER values for males are generally greater than

those for females suggesting that the girls' participation in schooling was less than that of boys.

Table 3

Trends in Gross Enrollment Rates, 1982–1992)

Year	School-age Population 6–16 year olds.			School Enrollments Grade 1–Form 3.			Gross Enrollment Rate GER (%)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1982	81,692	79,091	160,783	51,344	47,298	98,642	62.85	58.80	61.35
1983	83,966	81,759	165,725	50,999	47,454	98,453	60.74	58.04	59.41
1984	86,205	84,374	170,579	49,204	46,725	95,929	57.08	55.38	56.24
1985	88,399	86,923	175,322	48,176	45,360	93,536	54.50	52.18	53.35
1986	90,771	89,715	180,486	50,462	47,311	97,773	55.59	52.53	54.17
1987	93,216	92,619	185,835	54,017	50,309	104,326	57.95	54.32	56.14
1988	95,736	95,869	191,322	54,954	51,569	106,523	57.40	53.95	55.68
1989	98,333	98,671	197,004	55,769	52,610	108,379	56.71	53.32	55.01
1990	101,010	101,863	202,873	60,230	56,495	116,725	59.63	55.46	57.54
1991	103,768	105,163	208,931	61,613	57,998	119,611	59.38	55.15	57.25
1992	106,614	108,578	215,192	63,616	61,054	124,670	59.67	56.23	57.93

Notes: The total school age population was obtained by adding the population of 6–16 year-olds from all 10 districts. District school age populations were obtained by extrapolation of the school-age population data recorded in the 1988 Population Census by using the districts' average annual growth rates observed between the two inter-census period, 1978–1988.

Further analysis of enrollment data was carried out to determine how the GERs performed at the district levels. As an illustration, the results for 1982, 1987. and 1992 are presented in Table 4.

Table 4

Trends in Gross Enrollment Rates by District and Gender, 1982, 1987, and 1992.

Year	1982			1987			1992		
	GER (%)			GER (%)			GER (%)		
District	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Urban	79.37	82.04	80.77	65.35	68.30	66.88	59.62	62.38	61.05
West	59.89	58.41	58.19	80.69	84.07	82.38	93.10	92.36	92.72
Central	72.61	72.47	72.51	60.71	61.09	60.90	55.42	63.03	59.09
South	93.40	88.16	90.82	78.17	77.86	78.02	81.11	77.55	79.32
North A	56.87	40.78	48.87	52.51	34.30	43.26	59.58	41.65	50.27
North B	51.78	52.30	52.03	44.92	40.06	42.57	48.92	44.99	46.97
Chakechake	54.79	55.07	54.93	47.64	46.50	43.71	58.29	53.34	55.82
Mkoani	58.87	52.56	55.77	53.08	44.93	49.03	54.16	50.70	52.42
Wete	61.00	51.33	56.40	51.08	44.31	47.82	56.79	49.94	53.44
Micheweni	34.71	24.67	30.02	36.28	23.24	29.96	43.20	30.03	36.59
Total	62.86	59.80	61.35	57.95	54.32	56.14	59.67	56.23	57.93

According to Table 4, with the exception of the West district which has shown dramatic increase in enrollment from 58.19 per cent in 1982 to 92.72 per cent in 1992, there was either a decline or a very small increase in GERs in the remaining districts during the period. The sharp increase in GER values for West district should be interpreted with caution. The impressive figures were due to the fact that in 1984, due to shortage of

classrooms in the Urban district, the Government decided to use the former pavilion buildings as schools. Because the buildings were located in the West district, the schools administratively belonged to the West district though they mainly served the children from the bordering Urban district. By 1992, six schools had been opened with more than 90 per cent of the pupils coming from the Urban district. This number of pupils increased the GERs in West district and correspondingly decreased the GER in the Urban district. In addition to the Urban district, the decline in GER values was also observed in Central, South, North B, Mkoani, and Wete districts. Slight increases in GER values were recorded in North A, Chakechake, and Micheweni districts.

Table 4 also shows that there were great variations in gross enrollment rates among districts. For example, in 1992 the GER values varied from 92.72 per cent in West district to 36.59 per cent in Micheweni district. Six districts were below the national average of 57.93 per cent. These districts were North A, North B, Chakechake, Mkoani, Wete, and Micheweni. The worst rates were observed in North B and Micheweni districts where more than 50 per cent of the school-going age children were not attending school.

With respect to gender differences, most of the districts followed the national trend where the GERs for males were generally higher than those for females. The exceptions to this rule were Urban and Central districts. In the remaining districts the male-female GER discrepancies varied from around one per cent in West district to 13 per cent in Micheweni district. Six districts had their female enrollment rates below the national average. These districts were North A, North B, Chakechake, Mkoani, Wete, and Micheweni. The worst situation was recorded in Micheweni district where less than one third of the female school-going age children were attending school.

Furthermore, Table 4 reveals some surprising observations as far as urban-rural educational disparities are concerned. The gross enrollment rates in some predominantly rural districts were either higher or very close to the predominantly urban district. For

example, the GER values for the predominantly rural South district were higher than those of the predominantly urban Urban district. The values for Central district were very close to those of the Urban district. Besides those districts, the GER values for other predominantly rural districts (North A, North B, and Micheweni) were comparatively lower than those of the Urban district. The remaining districts (West, Chakechake, Wete, and Mkoani) accommodate both urban and rural schools and their GER values were between those of the predominantly urban and predominantly rural districts. An exception is the West district for the reasons already explained.

While the GER is a widely accepted measure of progress towards universal enrollment, it should be interpreted with caution. It only measures the capacity of the school system as opposed to its coverage. A GER value of 100 per cent indicates that a country is capable of enrolling the whole school-age population but it does not tell the proportion actually attending school. The GER accommodates both under- and over-age pupils as well as repeaters and therefore the 100 per cent value could miss a significant number of children within the official school-age population. The GER is particularly misleading in education systems where there are high rates of repetition. According to Colclough and Kelvin (1993), "the achievement of GER of 100 is therefore a necessary but not a sufficient condition for enrolling all eligible in school" (p.17).

A better measure of the universalization of basic education is given by the Net Enrollment Rate (NER). It compares the number of school-age children actually registered in school to the official school age population. The NER measures the coverage of the basic education system and indicates to what extent the education service has become accessible to the desired population. In order to get a more reliable picture of the enrollment situation in Zanzibar, net enrollment rates for some selected years were calculated and the results are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

Trends in Net Enrollment Rates, 1987 -1992.

Year	Official school-age population			Actual number of 6 -16 year olds in school			Net enrollment Rate NER %		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1987	93,216	92,619	185,835	40,490	39,679	80,169	43.44	42.84	43.14
1988	95,736	95,586	191,322	39,643	39,561	79,204	41.40	41.39	41.40
1989	98,333	98,671	197,004	39,324	38,569	77,893	40.00	39.09	39.54
1990	101,010	101,863	202,873	43,168	41,802	84,970	42.74	41.04	41.88
1991	103,768	105,163	208,931	42,972	42,151	85,123	41.41	40.08	40.74

The NER values shown in Table 5 present a more gloomy situation than previous tables. On the average only about 40 per cent of the eligible children were attending school. About 60 per cent of the eligible school age children were not attending school by 1991 and the trend shown does not provide hope for a substantial increase in NER in the near future.

In general the analysis of enrollment rates show that not much progress has been made in achieving the UBE goal. The results show that more children were not attending school in 1992 than was the case ten years ago. The trend observed during the ten years period was not impressive enough to provide hope for achieving universal basic education in the near future. If the enrollment trends observed during the last five years continue to prevail, the projected enrollment figures are as shown in Table 6. It should be noted that effective from 1993, the duration of basic education changed from eleven to ten years and the official school admission age was increased to seven years.

Table 6

Projection of School Enrollments, 1993 - 2000.

Year	Official school-age population, 7 - 16 year olds	School enrollment, Grade 1-Form 2	School enrollment 7 - 16 year olds	Gross Enrollment Rate %	Net Enrollment Rate %
1993*	196,983	129,693	87,876	65.84	44.61
1994	202,892	134,505	89,285	66.29	44.01
1995	208,979	139,495	90,717	66.75	43.41
1996	215,248	144,670	92,172	67.21	42.82
1997	221,706	150,037	93,650	67.67	42.24
1998	228,357	155,604	95,153	68.14	41.67
1999	235,208	161,377	96,679	68.61	41.10
2000	242,263	167,363	98,230	69.08	40.55
Growth rate %	3.0	3.7	1.6	0.6	– 1.3

* Actual enrollment

According to Table 6 the GER will grow very slightly from 65.84 per cent in 1993 to 69.08 per cent in 2000. However, the NER will decrease from 44.61 per cent in 1993 to 40.55 per cent in 2000. These projections show that if the current trends in enrollment continue, Zanzibar will not meet the international goal of providing basic education to all eligible children by the end of the century (World Conference on Education for All, 1990). Clearly, the present trends can not continue forever otherwise the NER will reach zero. It is obvious from the enrollment trends that unless purposeful and appropriate measures are taken, the long-desired objective of achieving universal basic education in Zanzibar will remain a dream.

There are two logical explanations for the observed low enrollment rates: (a) low admission rates to Grade I and/or (b) high dropout rates across various grades. It is

therefore worthwhile to examine the trends in admission and dropout rates. The trends in dropouts will be presented when discussing the internal efficiency of the basic education system.

As an illustration, trends in admission rates into Grade I from 1988 to 1992 are shown in Table 7.

Table 7

Trends in Admission Rates, 1988–1992.

Year	7 year-olds	Number of Grade 1 children by age (years)										GAR %	NAR %
		6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	>13	Total		
1988	21,537	314	3,932	5,431	3,505	1,901	950	541	239	101	16,914	78.53	18.25
1989	21,965	393	3,613	5,055	3,609	2,001	982	417	180	10	16,260	74.02	16.45
1990	22,400	611	4,181	6,770	4,668	2,747	1,186	694	344	89	21,290	95.04	18.67
1991	22,846	242	3,789	5,601	3,983	2,225	1,074	724	278	73	17,989	78.74	16.58
1992	23,300	NA*	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	17,784	76.33	NA

NA*--Data were not available

According to Table 7 the maximum net admission rate (NAR) observed over the last five years was only 18.67 per cent while the maximum gross admission rate was 95.04 per cent. Taking into account that GAR accommodates children of the official admission age (six year-olds) as well as those above and below it, a satisfactory GAR should be at least 100 per cent. It is obvious that the admission rates to the first grade were very low. Furthermore, six and seven year olds accounted for only 22.5 to 25.1 per cent of the total Grade I enrollment throughout the five year period. These figures indicate that many parents were not sending their children to school at the official admission age and some of them were not registering their children for schooling at all. These results also indicate that

about 75 per cent of Grade I enrollment comprised over-aged pupils (8–13 year-olds). Experience has shown that in general over-aged pupils do not stay in school until they complete basic education. Further investigation is required to see whether this observation is also true in Zanzibar.

From the analysis of admission rates it is clear that the observed low enrollment rates at the basic education level were due to low admission rates. Moreover, if one compares GARs and GERs observed during the period under study, the former were higher than the latter, suggesting that a significant proportion of children who were admitted into the first grade dropped out before completing basic education. If this were not the case, the two rates should have been comparable to each other.

A general conclusion regarding the universalization of basic education during the period under study, is that there was no remarkable improvement in enrolling school-age children. Though the number of children enrolled in school has increased in absolute terms, its proportion was low compared to the number of eligible children. Furthermore, as far as the opportunity of access to schooling is concerned, the analysis of enrollment data by gender and district has demonstrated the persistence of educational disparities between males and females, between districts and between rural and urban areas. The continued persistence of educational disparities has defeated the government's intention of providing equal educational opportunities to all segments of the population. Low admission rates accompanied by high dropout rates were responsible for the low enrollment of children in schools.

Internal Efficiency of the Basic Education System

The internal efficiency of the basic education system demonstrates how the pupils progress from one grade to another until they complete the final grade of basic education. Survival rates were used to measure the efficiency of the basic education system. They

indicate the ratio of the number of pupils who started Grade I to the number of pupils from the same cohort who reached the final grade of basic education within the normal time. The survival rates depend upon promotion, repetition, and dropout rates across various grades. An efficient education system should have very high survival rates and very low repetition and dropout rates.

The survival rates of various cohorts of children who started Grade I in various years were calculated and the results are presented in Table 8.

Table 8

Trends in Survival Rates, 1982 - 1992

Cohort-year	Number of grade 1 pupils			Number of Form 3 pupils			Survival Rate %		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1972-82	NA*	NA	8,047	NA	NA	4,758	NA	NA	59.13
1973-83	NA	NA	8,214	NA	NA	5,268	NA	NA	64.13
1974-84	NA	NA	9,299	NA	NA	5,166	NA	NA	55.55
1975-85	NA	NA	10,891	NA	NA	4,515	NA	NA	41.45
1976-86	NA	NA	11,375	NA	NA	2,800	NA	NA	24.62
1977-87	NA	NA	13,405	NA	NA	4,663	NA	NA	34.79
1978-88	12,505	10,469	22,974	2,291	2,085	4,376	18.32	19.92	19.05
1979-89	6,676	6,066	12,742	2,085	2,076	4,161	31.23	34.22	32.66
1980-90	5,499	5,131	10,630	1,913	1,954	3,867	34.79	38.08	36.38
1981-91	6,571	5,844	12,415	1,986	2,023	4,009	30.22	34.62	32.29
1982-92	7,157	6,500	13,657	2,449	2,649	5,098	34.22	40.75	37.33

* NA--Data were not available

In general, Table 8 shows that the survival rates have decreased from 59.13 per cent in 1982 to 37.33 per cent in 1992. The worst situation was recorded in 1988 when the survival rate for the 1978 cohort reached a minimum value of 19.05 per cent. It should be recalled that 1978 was the year in which the universal basic education campaign was at its peak and a record of 22,974 children were enrolled in Grade I. It is saddening to note that the efforts taken during the 1978 universal basic education campaign did not ultimately bear the desired fruits as less than 20 per cent of the 1978 Grade I cohort reached the final grade of basic education within the normal duration of 11 years. The survival rates for other cohorts indicate that on the average, only about one third of the number of pupils enrolled in Grade I each year reached the final grade of basic education within the normal time. A system of education that has very low survival rates is characterized by high repetition and/or dropout rates and therefore high "educational wastage" and poor internal efficiency.

Table 8 also shows comparative survival rates between males and females. Generally, the survival rates for females were higher than those of males. This observation suggests that higher proportion of females go through the education system without repetition or dropping out. This is an encouraging observation particularly when it is recalled that the enrollment rates for females were slightly lower than those of males.

Further analysis of survival rates were made by looking at how they varied across districts. As an illustration, the results for 1982-1992 Grade I cohort are shown in Table 9. According to Table 9 the highest survival rates were recorded in Urban, Chakechake and South districts, while lowest values were recorded in North A, Micheweni and North B. The Urban district had the best female survival rate of 52.57 per cent and Micheweni district had the worst female survival rate of 17.59 per cent. The best male survival rate of 43.3 per cent was observed in South district and North A district had the worst survival rate of 16.25 per cent. Overall, Urban district had the best survival rate of 46.19 per cent and North A district had the worst survival rate of 17.97 per cent. However, none of the

districts had a satisfactory survival rate of at least 50 per cent and therefore all of them had unsatisfactory internal efficiency. Furthermore, the results showed that there were great variations in survival rates amongst districts.

Table 9

Survival Rates by Districts, 1982–1992 Cohort.

District	Grade 1 enrollment, 1982			Form 3 enrollment, 1992			Survival Rates %		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Urban	2,122	2,277	4,399	835	1,197	2,032	39.35	52.57	46.19
West	517	455	972	145	148	293	28.05	32.53	30.14
Central	580	589	1,169	168	144	312	28.97	24.45	26.69
South	413	382	795	179	157	336	43.30	41.10	42.26
North A	769	522	1,291	125	107	232	16.25	20.50	17.97
North B	328	388	716	75	75	150	22.86	19.59	21.09
Chakechake	589	535	1,124	194	234	428	32.94	43.74	38.08
Mkoani	635	489	1,124	169	148	317	26.61	30.26	28.02
Wete	883	647	1,530	278	251	529	31.48	38.79	34.58
Micheweni	321	216	537	68	40	108	21.81	17.59	20.11

The survival rates depend upon promotion, repetition, and dropout rates. In order to understand the extent to which each of them has contributed to the observed low survival rates and poor internal efficiency, promotion, repetition, and dropout rates for several years were calculated and the results are as shown in Table 10.

Table 10

Trends in Promotion (P), Repetition (R), and Dropout (D) Rates in Percentages

Grade	1981/82			1986/87			1987/88			1988/89			1989/90			1990/91			Average 1986 -91		
	P	R	D	P	R	D	P	R	D	P	R	D	P	R	D	P	R	D	P	R	D
I - II	82.1	10.4	7.5	73.9	13.5	12.6	77.1	15.1	7.8	80.6	13.3	6.1	81.4	13.4	5.2	77.6	14.3	8.1	78.1	13.9	8.0
II -III	89.3	7.9	2.8	85.7	11.0	3.3	80.6	10.6	8.8	82.5	12.1	5.3	81.0	11.1	7.8	82.2	12.5	5.3	82.4	11.5	6.1
III -IV	86.0	6.9	7.1	76.8	15.9	7.3	81.9	10.6	7.5	80.7	11.0	8.3	84.1	10.7	5.2	84.0	11.7	4.3	81.5	12.0	6.5
IV - V	86.8	3.4	9.8	87.0	6.5	6.5	87.3	6.0	6.7	85.9	6.2	7.9	87.9	5.8	6.3	89.4	5.1	5.5	87.5	5.9	6.6
V - VI	88.5	3.8	7.7	90.7	5.8	3.5	88.1	4.8	7.1	86.0	5.2	8.8	93.0	4.9	2.1	91.1	3.9	5.0	89.8	4.9	5.3
VI-VII	87.9	2.7	9.4	77.2	11.2	11.6	76.6	11.2	12.2	78.7	11.3	10.0	73.7	14.1	12.2	83.3	9.2	7.5	77.9	11.4	10.7
VII-VIII	91.4	2.5	6.1	90.8	4.6	4.6	89.0	5.1	5.9	87.1	5.7	7.2	89.9	4.8	5.3	90.9	4.3	4.8	89.5	4.9	5.6
VIII-F.1	92.9	1.2	5.9	69.7	15.3	15.0	76.9	15.1	8.1	74.9	12.9	12.2	75.3	12.8	11.8	80.4	11.2	8.3	75.4	13.5	11.1
F 1 - 2	91.9	0.8	7.3	78.6	4.8	16.6	84.1	5.1	10.8	77.4	7.4	15.1	83.7	5.5	10.7	88.6	4.9	6.5	82.5	5.5	12.0
F.2 - 3	91.9	0.7	7.4	73.9	4.1	22.0	83.9	7.8	8.3	78.4	8.6	12.9	71.9	8.6	19.5	87.2	5.0	7.8	79.1	6.8	14.1

An obvious observation from Table 10 is that except for Grades IV and V, the promotion rates for other grades were higher in 1981/82 than in 1990/91. The 1981/82 promotion rates were also higher than the average of promotion rates observed from 1986/87 to 1990/91. On the other hand, the repetition and dropout rates recorded in 1990/91 and the average of repetition and dropout rates observed from 1986/87 to 1990/91 were higher than the 1981/82 repetition and dropout rates. The decrease in promotion rates and the increase in repetition and/or dropout rates in most of the grades confirmed further that the internal efficiency of the education system did not improve during the period under study.

Another observation from Table 10 is that in five of the grades, the average dropout rates were higher than the average repetition rates and in the other five grades the average repetition rates were higher than the average dropout rates. From this observation, it is hard to tell which of the two rates contributed more to the poor internal efficiency of the basic education system.

A better picture regarding the internal efficiency of the basic education system could be obtained by a process of cohort reconstruction in which the average promotion, repetition, and dropout rates were applied to a hypothetical cohort of Grade I pupils. Figure 1 shows the evolution of the cohort as the pupils progress from the first grade to the last grade of basic education.

According to Figure 1, out of 1000 pupils who started Grade I in any particular year, only 370 complete Form Three, the final grade of basic education. The remaining children drop out before completing basic education. In other words, only about 37 per cent who start Grade I each year complete basic education and 63 per cent drop out of the school system. The highest number of dropouts appear to be in the first, sixth, eighth, and tenth grades. Furthermore, out of the 37 per cent who complete basic education, only 14.1

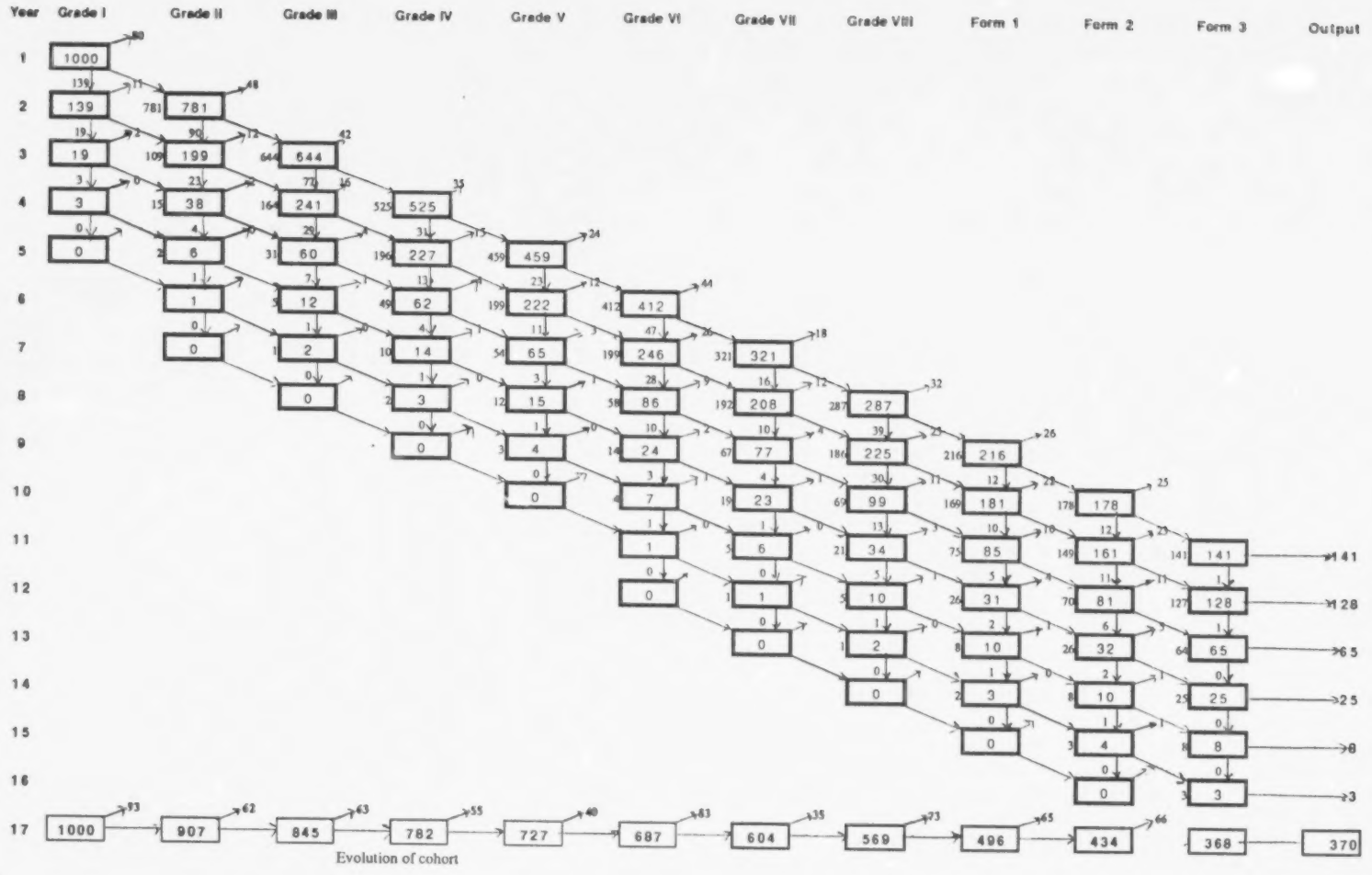

Figure 1: Hypothetical flow of pupils through basic education

percent do so without repeating any grades and 21 per cent complete basic education after repeating grades at least once.

It is now clear that the observed low survival rates and poor internal efficiency in the basic education system were mainly due to dropout rather than repetition. This scenario implies that unless appropriate measures to control dropouts are taken, the internal efficiency of the basic education system is unlikely to improve.

The Quality of Basic Education

The quality of basic education provided during the period under study was assessed by using the following indicators: transition rates to post-basic secondary education, pupil teacher ratios, academic and professional qualifications of teachers, and the unit cost per student.

Transition Rates

The transition rates to Form Four were calculated from the results of the national examinations taken at the end of basic education (Form Three). The results are as shown in Table 11. The table generally shows that transition rates have declined from 38.7 per cent in 1982 to 9.8 per cent in 1992. The last five years have witnessed transition rates varying between 9.1 and 11.4 per cent. The table also shows that transition rates for males were higher than those of females.

Since all students who met the required academic performance in the national examinations were selected to join Form Four, the results shown in Table 11 indicate that the academic achievement of the students was very low (below the average pass mark of about 40 per cent). Judging the academic performance of students at the end of basic education, it can be concluded not only that the quality of basic education did not improve over the last 10 years, but it also declined to alarming levels.

Table 11

Trends in Transition Rates, 1982–1992.

Year	Number of candidates who sat for Form 3 examination			No. of students who passed and selected to join Form 4.			Transition Rates %		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1982	2,965	2,074	4,769	1,165	680	1,845	43.2	32.8	38.7
1983	2,888	2,380	5,268	1,095	706	1,801	37.9	29.7	34.2
1984	2,731	2,435	5,166	419	218	637	15.3	9.0	12.3
1985	2,366	2,149	4,515	398	320	718	16.8	14.9	15.9
1986	1,075	1,380	2,455	265	155	420	24.7	11.2	17.1
1987	2,191	2,253	4,444	303	202	505	13.8	8.0	11.4
1988	1,707	2,217	3,924	268	175	443	15.7	7.9	11.3
1989	1,915	1,895	3,810	209	138	347	10.9	7.3	9.1
1990	1,805	1,793	3,598	228	121	349	12.6	6.7	9.7
1991	1,886	1,893	3,779	249	176	425	13.2	9.3	11.2
1992	2,236	2,501	4,737	265	200	465	11.9	8.0	9.8

Further analysis of transition rates was done in order to find out how the rates varied amongst districts. The results are shown in Table 12. The examination results shown in Table 12 indicate that there were large variations in performance among districts. In general, performance in all districts was unsatisfactory. For example, over the last six years, the best performance was recorded in Micheweni district in 1987 where 39.3 per cent of the candidates passed. The percentage figure was still too low to suggest good academic performance. On looking at the overall performance during the last six years, Table 12 indicate that out of 24,292 candidates who sat for the Form Three national examination, only 2,534 or 10.4 per cent passed and were selected to join Form Four. The best overall performance was shown by Mkoani district where 24.2 per cent of the

Table 12

Transition Rates (TR) by District, 1987 - 1992.

District	1987			1988			1989			1990			1991			1992			Total		
	C*	P*	TR %	C	P	TR %	C	P	TR %	C	P	TR %	C	P	TR %	C	P	TR %	C	P	TR %
Urban	1694	71	4.2	1303	34	2.6	1487	73	4.9	1403	72	5.1	1529	142	9.3	2032	202	9.9	9448	594	6.3
West	280	28	10.0	231	6	2.6	253	18	7.1	224	13	5.8	233	36	15.5	293	21	7.2	1514	122	8.0
South	370	28	7.6	267	38	14.2	178	2	1.1	262	60	22.6	196	21	10.7	336	8	2.4	1609	157	9.8
Central	303	13	4.3	150	53	35.3	214	21	9.8	185	21	11.4	243	32	13.2	312	35	11.2	1407	175	12.4
North A	309	13	4.2	312	13	4.2	253	48	19.0	185	46	24.9	233	43	18.5	232	19	8.2	1524	182	11.9
North B	234	10	4.3	129	23	17.8	174	9	5.2	139	2	1.4	162	13	8.0	150	2	1.3	988	59	6.0
Chakechake	258	53	20.5	358	42	11.7	306	28	9.1	323	45	12.2	271	24	8.9	429	34	7.9	1935	226	11.7
Mkoani	277	143	51.6	359	100	27.9	390	104	26.7	337	50	10.1	383	40	10.4	316	62	19.6	2062	499	24.2
Wete	528	71	13.4	588	87	14.8	401	35	8.7	427	26	5.6	418	66	15.8	529	57	10.8	2891	342	11.8
Micheweni	191	75	39.3	227	47	20.7	160	9	5.6	109	14	2.4	111	8	7.2	316	62	19.6	1114	215	19.3
Total	4444	505	11.4	3924	443	11.3	3810	347	9.1	3598	349	9.7	3779	425	11.2	4737	465	9.8	24292	2534	10.4

* C--number of candidates who sat for the examination.

** P--number of candidates who passed and selected to continue with further education.

candidates passed. The worst performance was recorded in North B district where only 6.0 per cent of the candidates passed. In general there were disparities in terms of academic performance amongst districts. A rather surprising observation was that the disparities were not in favor of the Urban district.

Pupil-teacher Ratios, Class-teacher Ratios and Class Sizes.

The pupil-teacher ratio is the average number of pupils faced by a single teacher in a classroom. A very large pupil-teacher ratio means that a teacher handles many pupils at a time in a single class. Very large class sizes affect teacher effectiveness in the classroom and could be a cause of providing education of inferior quality. Trends in pupil-teacher ratios were analyzed from 1982 to 1992 and the results are presented in Table 13.

In general Table 13 shows satisfactory trends in pupil-teacher ratios during the 10 years period (1982–1992). According to the norm the ratio should be around thirty pupils per teacher. The observed trends suggest that there was no shortage of teachers during the period under study. Table 13 also shows that there were commendable efforts to reduce the proportion of untrained teachers in the teaching force. The proportion of untrained teachers has decreased from 55.0 per cent in 1982 to 29.7 per cent in 1992. The increase in the proportion of trained teachers has resulted in the decrease of pupil-trained teacher ratio from 67:1 in 1982 to 41:1 in 1992. Similarly, the pupil-untrained teacher ratio has increased from 55:1 in 1982 to 98:1 in 1992. These trends in pupil-teacher ratios should have resulted in the improvement in the quality of education but the student performance indicators proved otherwise. As will be explained in the next chapter other factors of educational quality have outweighed the professional qualification factor.

Table 13

Trends in Pupil-teacher Ratios, 1982–1992.

Year	No. of pupils	Number of Teachers			% of Unt. Teachers	Pupil-teacher Ratios (Pupils per teacher)		
		Trained	Untrained	Total		Trained	Untrained	Total
1982	98,642	1,466	1,790	3,256	55.0	67	55	30
1983	98,453	1,640	1,650	3,290	50.2	60	60	30
1984	95,929	1,788	1,498	3,286	45.6	54	64	29
1985	93,536	2,037	1,359	3,396	40.0	46	69	28
1986	97,773	2,170	1,356	3,526	38.5	45	72	30
1987	104,326	2,392	1,369	3,761	36.5	44	76	28
1988	106,523	2,357	1,240	3,597	34.5	45	86	30
1989	108,379	2,514	1,082	3,596	30.1	43	100	30
1990	116,725	2,821	962	3,783	25.1	42	121	31
1991	119,611	2,903	784	3,687	21.3	41	152	32
1992	124,670	3,021	1,276	4,297	29.7	41	98	29

While the pupil-teacher ratios at the national level appeared to be at acceptable levels, what matters most is how the teachers were distributed among districts and schools. Table 14 shows the distribution of teachers by district for the year 1992. According to Table 14 all the districts seem to have reasonable pupil-teacher ratios. However there were large variations among districts. The ratio varied from the highest value of 35:1 in West district to the lowest value of 24:1 in Chakechake, Mkoani and Micheweni districts. The variations in pupil-teacher ratios may be due to the fact that some of the districts have very small class sizes and since the posting of teachers is based upon the number of classes rather than the number of pupils, a school that has fewer pupils will have a smaller pupil-teacher ratio than a school with the same number of classes but with larger class sizes.

Table 14

Distribution of Classes, Teachers and Pupils by District, 1992.

District	Number of classes	Number of pupils	Number of teachers			Number of pupils per class	Teachers-class ratio	% of untrained teachers	Pupil-teacher ratios		
			Trained	Untrained	Total				Trained	Untrained	Total
Urban	669	32,503	724	246	970	49	1.4	25.4	45	132	34
West	351	16,129	339	124	463	46	1.3	26.8	48	130	35
Central	257	9,708	238	88	326	38	1.3	27.0	41	110	30
South	206	6,664	205	24	229	32	1.1	10.5	32	278	29
North A	223	9,732	223	82	305	44	1.4	26.9	44	119	32
North B	144	5,886	132	59	191	41	1.3	30.9	45	100	31
Chakechake	267	11,433	302	177	479	43	1.8	37.0	38	65	24
Mkoani	327	11,709	320	164	484	36	1.5	33.9	37	71	24
Wete	344	14,068	382	184	566	41	1.6	32.5	37	76	25
Micheweni	166	6,838	156	128	284	41	1.7	45.1	44	53	24
Total	2,954	124,670	3,021	1,276	4,297	42	1.4	29.7	41	98	29

A better way to analyze the distribution of teachers is therefore to look at the teacher-class ratios. Table 14 shows that like the pupil-teacher ratios, there were large variations in teacher-class ratios among districts. The ratio varied from 1.1:1 in South district to 1.8:1 in Chakechake district. Incidentally, all the districts with low pupil-teacher ratios also have high teacher-class ratios. These results indicate that there was no equity in the distribution of teachers among various districts.

More disturbing however, was the distribution of untrained teachers among various districts. Table 14 shows that the proportion of untrained teachers varied from 10.5 per cent in South district to 45.1 per cent in Micheweni district. Five districts, namely, Urban, West, Central, South, and North A were above the national average of 29.7 per cent while North B, Chakechake, Mkoani, Wete, and Micheweni were below the national average.

With respect to class sizes, Table 14 shows that all the districts except South, Central, and Mkoani had class sizes of fewer than 40 pupils per class. The remaining districts had class sizes between 41 and 49 pupils per class with extreme cases observed in Urban and West districts where the average class size was 49 and 46 pupils per class respectively. Compared to many developing countries, the observed class sizes in most of the districts seem to be tolerable but those observed in Urban, West, and North A were high enough to affect the quality of education provided in those districts.

In general, while research on appropriate pupil-teacher ratio and class size is not conclusive, the values recorded in Zanzibar were not too high to be related to the observed decline in the quality of education. What seemed to matter most was the significant proportion of untrained teachers. The situation was worsened further by the inequitable distribution of teachers in general and trained teachers in particular among districts and there is every reason to believe that this inequity extends to schools within districts. In addition to the presence of a large proportion of untrained teachers, a significant number of

significant number of trained primary school teachers were teaching at secondary level. For example, in 1992, 322 primary school teachers were teaching in secondary schools which was about 50 per cent of the teaching force in secondary schools. This poaching of primary school teachers has created a shortage of qualified teachers in primary schools which inevitably had to be filled by untrained teachers. Hence the presence of untrained teachers at primary level and under-qualified teachers at secondary level of basic education could be one of the reasons for the declining and unsatisfactory quality of education.

Recurrent Unit Costs per Student

The recurrent unit cost per student is defined as the total recurrent expenditure on education divided by total school enrollment. The amount of money per student spent on education could be considered a determinant of educational quality since most of the required inputs such as textbooks, library facilities, classroom environment, and qualified and motivated teachers depends upon the availability of funds. Table 15 shows the trends in government expenditures on education for some selected years.

Table 15

Trends in Government and Education Recurrent Expenditures

Financial year	Number of pupils	Total government expenditures TShs.	Government expenditures on education TShs.	% share of government expenditure on education	Unit cost per pupil TShs.
1989/90	117,982	2,283,485,212 00	302,480,961.00	13.2	2,564.00
1990/91	120,902	3,871,971,689.00	450,154,687.00	11.6	3,723.00
1991/92*	126,076	7,363,492,849.00	700,030,533.00	9.5	5,552.00

Note: *Expenditure data for 1991/92 were approved estimates.

Because data on education expenditure were not available according to type and level of education, the enrollment and expenditure figures referred to all levels of education and the unit cost represent the average cost for all levels of education except higher education. Since students at basic education level account for more than 96 per cent of the total student enrollments, the trends shown in Table 15 do reflect the expenditure trends in basic education.

The table of education expenditures (Table 15) shows that during the past three years (1989–1992) the government was allocating between 9.5 and 13.2 per cent of its budget to education. Compared to many other least developed countries with somewhat similar income per capita, the share of the government budget allocated to education is very small. For example, Burundi, Burkina Faso and Rwanda allocated respectively about 16, 20, and 25 per cent of their recurrent budgets to education in the mid-1980s. (Colclough & Lewin, 1993). The Table 15 also shows that the proportion of government expenditures allocated to education has been declining during the recent years suggesting that the priority in government expenditures was given to other sectors.

On looking at the unit costs per student, Table 15 shows that there has been an increase in education expenditure per student from TShs. 2564.00 in 1989/90 to TShs. 5552.00 in 1991/92. However, in real terms, after accounting for inflation and the devaluation of the Tanzanian shilling, the unit cost has in fact been declining. Furthermore, after accounting for the fact that about 75 per cent of the education budget was spent on salaries and other personnel emoluments, non-salary unit cost per student varied between T.Shs. 641.00 and T.Shs. 1388.00 during the last three years. This amount of money was supposed to cover all other expenditures including purchase of teaching materials, maintenance of school buildings and furniture, in-service training of teachers, transportation, student boarding and lodging and other recurring expenses. The non-salary expenditure per student was too little to cover even a purchase of a single textbook let alone

all other expenses. Hence one cannot be surprised to find out that there were acute shortages of teaching materials, furniture and well maintained school buildings. In fact it was reported that more than 60 per cent of the pupils had no furniture and majority of school buildings were in poor condition. Similarly, the shortage of teaching materials had been mentioned as a major problem facing the Zanzibar education system (Wizara ya Elimu, 1992; Mosha & Sumra, 1992). Poor classroom environment and lack of teaching materials were found to be important factors affecting the quality of education (World Bank, 1988; Urwick & Junaidu, 1991).

From the analysis of education expenditures, it is reasonable to conclude that the education sector was not receiving adequate funds to fulfill the education objectives. The underfunding of the education sector has resulted in unsatisfactory working conditions for teachers, lack of teaching materials, lack of classrooms, and poor learning environment, all of which have negative impacts on school enrollments and the quality of education. The situation would have been worse were it not for external assistance from several funding agencies particularly SIDA (Swedish International Development Authority), DANIDA (Danish International Development Agency), The British Government, UNICEF and other United Nations agencies. However, under the present circumstances of diminishing funds from external sources, the Government must reduce its reliance on external sources and should find means of increasing the share of the education to about 19.4 per cent of the total government expenditure by the year 2000 (Colclough & Lewin, 1993).

Summary

This chapter has presented the evaluation of the performance of the basic education system in Zanzibar. The evaluation was carried out by analyzing three main areas of education performance namely, the coverage (universalization) of the basic education system, the internal efficiency of the basic education system, and the quality of basic education. The indicators of education coverage (enrollment rates and admission rates),

internal efficiency (survival, promotion, repetition, and dropout rates), and quality of education (transition rates) show that the performance of the basic education system over the last ten years (1982–1992) in all three areas has declined to alarming levels. Furthermore, the results show that there were great educational disparities among various districts. The results suggest that the poor performance of the basic education system could be due to reluctance of some parents to send their children to school, high dropout rates, lack of qualified teachers, and underfunding of the education sector. The factors that have affected the performance of the basic education system are explored further in the following two chapters.

Chapter 6

Factors Affecting Enrollment of School-Age Children

Introduction

The evaluation of basic education discussed in the previous chapter has shown that the performance of the basic education system both in terms of enrollments and the quality of education provided has declined during the last ten years (1982–1992). Different indicators of quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement of the basic education system have demonstrated that the performance of the education system was better in 1982 than in 1992. A need to find out what factors hindered the performance of the basic education system became apparent. This need was accomplished by soliciting school heads' opinions on the factors that affected enrollment of school-age children (quantitative expansion) and the quality of education in their respective schools. The purpose of this chapter is to present and discuss the perceptions of school heads on the factors that have affected enrollment of children in Zanzibar schools.

Perceptions of School Heads on Factors Affecting School Enrollments

A questionnaire survey was used to solicit school heads' opinions regarding the factors affecting enrollment of children in their schools. Both the structured and unstructured items were included in the questionnaire. Through the structured items, school heads expressed their opinion by indicating their degree of agreement or disagreement on a series of 14 statements that provided hints on some of the factors affecting school enrollments found in the literature and from researcher's own experience. They were asked to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement by selecting one answer from a series of five possible responses: (a) Strongly disagree, (b) Disagree, (c) Uncertain, (d) Agree, and (e) Strongly agree. For each response, frequencies and

percentages were calculated. To simplify the analysis and discussion the five categories of responses were reduced to three--Disagree, Uncertain, and Agree. Through unstructured items, school heads were given opportunity to mention any extra opinions they might have regarding factors affecting enrollments in their schools. Content analysis was used to analyze responses from the unstructured items. In both cases perceptions or opinions that we expressed by at least 50 per cent of the participants were considered to be very common. The results for both the structured and unstructured items of the questionnaire are shown in Tables 16 and 17

Table 16:

Structured Items--Perceptions of School Heads on the Factors Affecting Enrollment of School-age Children

(N = 129)

No.	Statement	Disagree		Uncertain		Agree		Rank
		f	%	f	%	f	%	
1.	Some children of school-going age are not attending school because there is a serious shortage of classrooms in my school.	46	35.6	6	4.7	77	59.7	3
2.	Some children of school going-age are not attending schools because their parents prefer to use them in raising family income.	44	34.1	17	13.2	68	52.7	7
3.	Some children of school-going age are not attending school because their parents do not understand the importance of education.	43	33.3	13	10.1	73	56.6	5
4.	Student drop-outs and truancy are serious problems affecting enrollment of school-age children in my school.	49	38.0	8	6.2	72	55.8	6
5.	Some children of school-going age are not attending school or decide to drop out of school because of the poor school environment (lack of furniture, classrooms with leaking roofs, cracked floors and walls).	94	72.8	13	10.1	22	17.1	11

(Table 16 continued . . .)

No.	Statement	Disagree		Uncertain		Agree		Rank
		f	%	f	%	f	%	
6.	The frequent use of corporal punishment in school forces some children to run away or drop out of school.	95	73.6	13	10.1	21	16.3	12
7.	Some children of school-going age are not attending school or decide to drop out of school because they have to walk long distances (more than three miles) from home to school.	96	74.4	10	7.8	23	17.8	10
8.	Some children of school-going age decide to drop out of school because the school curriculum does not provide them with knowledge and skills that are useful to their needs and their community.	95	73.6	21	16.3	13	10.1	14
9.	Some children of school-going age particularly girls, drop out of school because they get married before completing basic education.	30	23.3	23	17.8	76	59.0	4
10.	Some children of school-going age particularly girls are discouraged to go to school by their parents after reaching the age of puberty.	67	51.9	18	14.0	44	34.1	8
11.	Some pupils decide to drop out of school because some teachers do not perform their jobs properly and therefore do not see the benefit of staying in school.	103	79.8	14	10.9	12	9.3	15
12.	Some pupils decide to drop out of school because some teachers are frequently absent from work and pupils see staying in school as a waste of time.	110	85.3	8	6.2	11	8.5	16
13.	Some pupils decide to drop out of school because they are disappointed by the small number of pupils who are selected to continue with further education as a result of poor performance of their schools in the national(Form 3) examinations.	81	62.8	28	21.7	20	15.5	13
14.	The double shift system in my school contributes to student dropouts and truancy.	87	68.0	10	7.8	31	24.2	9

Table 17

Unstructured Items--Perceptions of School Heads on the Factors Affecting Enrollment of School-age Children

N = 97

No.	Factor	Responses		Rank
		f	%	
15	Poor family background	83	85.6	1
16	Lack of employment opportunities on part of school graduates	79	81.4	2

Several observations can be made from Tables 16 and 17. The first one is that there were few responses whose percentages were close to 100 per cent (the maximum was 85.3 per cent) suggesting that there was no factor that got a unanimous response from the school heads. This observation implies that there were great diversities in the participants' perceptions regarding factors affecting enrollment of children in their schools. This situation should be expected because of the great diversities and differences in the schools to which the participants belong. Such differences and diversities include the locality of the school, the community in which the school belongs, the economy and many others. The second observation is that the frequency responses above the 50 per cent cut off point for the disagree category were higher (62.8 to 85.3 per cent) than those of the agree category (52.7 to 59.7 per cent). Also the maximum frequency reached in the uncertain category was 21.7 per cent. These observations indicate that the participants were closer to having similar perceptions for the factors in which they disagreed than those in which they agreed. Few uncertain responses in almost every given factor suggested that the participants had clear knowledge of the factors affecting enrollment in their schools. A brief discussion of each factor is given below in order of increasing percentage of agree responses.

Teachers' Absenteeism

Out of 129 school heads who participated in the study, only 11 or 8.5 per cent agreed that enrollment of children in their schools was affected because some teachers were frequently absent from work. About 85.3 per cent of the school heads disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results suggest that either teacher absenteeism was not an issue or if it was present it did not affect enrollment of children in their schools. The later case is unlikely to be the situation as several studies have linked teacher absenteeism with dropouts (Lockheed et al., 1991). The former case is in fact the situation in Zanzibar schools as has been confirmed by the findings in this study. Findings from this study have shown that the average monthly attendance of teachers during the last three years (1990–1992) was about 91.8 per cent which was very satisfactory. It can therefore be concluded that teacher absenteeism was not a major factor that affected enrollment of children in most of the Zanzibar schools.

Teachers Do Not Perform Their Job Properly

Only 9.3 per cent of the school heads supported the statement that enrollment of school-going age children in their school was affected because some teachers did not perform their job properly. A great majority of them (79.8 per cent) disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results suggest that most school heads believed that teachers in their schools were doing a very good job. The high percentage of the number of school heads who disagreed with the statement could also be due to the possibility that supporting such a statement could imply that they too did not perform their job properly. Because of this possibility, the views of the small number of school heads who supported the statement should not be ignored.

There are several ways in which children could run away from school because of the undesirable behavior or conduct of their teachers. For example, teachers' use of

corporal punishment, bad language and lack of proper techniques of motivating children in the classroom could force some children to see a school as a horrible place and will eventually decide to drop out of school. Also, because of such reasons as poor conditions of service, excessive bureaucracy and lack of teaching materials, teachers become demotivated and frustrated to the extent that they do not see the point of putting much effort in their work. Consequently, some pupils may become victims of these frustrated teachers and may be forced to quit school. In order to improve enrollment of children in school it is very important that teachers are well trained in classroom management and appropriate conditions are put into place so that teachers become satisfied with their work.

Inadequate Curriculum

Out of 129 school heads who participated in the study, only 13 or 10.1 per cent agreed with the statement that some children of school-going age decided to drop out of school because the school curriculum did not provide them with knowledge and skills that were useful to themselves and to their communities. The majority of the school heads (73.6 per cent) disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results are not surprising because: (a) there is no curriculum that is completely irrelevant and ineffective--there is always something useful (such as teaching literacy and numeracy) that is imparted to the children, (b) the curriculum is developed centrally by the "experts" and the school heads may have taken for granted that it was good for the children and society at large, and (c) supporting the statement may imply that their schools were not doing a very good job. Under these circumstances there was very little chance for the school heads to support the statement.

The issue of curriculum relevance and appropriateness is very complex and controversial. However, a relevant and appropriate curriculum should reflect the socioeconomic, sociological, cultural and political needs of the individuals and the society to which they belong. Zanzibar is basically an agricultural country in which farming and

fishing are the main occupations of the majority of the people. To what extent has the school curriculum prepared the children to participate fully in these occupations? To what extent has the school curriculum prepared the children to serve their community better? To what extent has the school curriculum tackled the problems of poverty, diseases and ignorance? A close examination of the Zanzibar school curriculum for the past ten years would reveal that it was too bookish, examination-oriented and it prepared the youths for white-collar job employment. The curriculum was not adequate to make children realize and face the challenges of life. The curriculum has dissociated itself from the realities of life taking place in the communities. Because of the shortcomings of the school curriculum, some children and their parents may find schooling as a waste of time. Therefore, it was not surprising to find some school heads associating poor enrollment of children in their schools with the shortcomings of the delivered curriculum.

Lack of Opportunities for Further Education

From a group of 129 school heads who took part in the study, only 20 or 15.5 per cent supported the statement that some pupils decide to drop out of school because they were disappointed by the small number of pupils who were selected to continue with further education. Twenty-eight participants were undecided and majority of them (62.8 per cent) disagreed with the statement.

The major assumption behind the statement was that if majority of the students are not selected for further education some pupils may be demotivated, and may ultimately decide to drop out from school. This may happen in education systems where the number of pupils to be selected for further education is predetermined according to established policies such as human resources requirements, regional quota allocations or restricted number of available places. In Zanzibar, the situation is different. The number of children to be selected for further education depended entirely upon the academic performance of the students in the final national examinations and the selection was done on merit. Therefore,

there were no grounds for school heads to relate poor enrollment of children in their schools with the number of pupils who were selected to continue with further education. Hence the results were not surprising.

On the other hand the perceptions of 15.9 per cent of the school heads also warrant consideration. One can reasonably argue that the small number of students who were selected for further education may be due to factors that were beyond their control. These factors may include, for instance, shortage of qualified teachers and lack of textbooks. Because of the existing disparities in the distribution of human, financial and material resources among various school districts and among schools within a district, the justification behind the use of the academic merit system in the selection of students for further education becomes highly questionable. A selection system that would take into account both the academic performance and learning environment of the schools might help to improve enrollment of children in those schools.

Use of Corporal Punishment

Out of 129 school heads who participated in the study, only 21 or 16.3 per cent supported the statement that the frequent use of corporal punishment in schools forced some children to run away or drop out from school. The majority of them (73.6 per cent) did not perceive the use of corporal punishment as a factor that may force children to run away from school. The rest were uncertain. These results should be expected because agreeing with the statement may imply that some school heads were using or supporting the use of corporal punishment, something that may degrade their reputation or the reputation of their schools. The presence of 16.3 per cent of school heads who supported the statement should be appealing enough to warrant discussion on the issue.

Corporal punishment is the most common way of disciplining students in Zanzibar schools. Although there are regulations governing its use, one fact cannot be denied: it

inflicts physical pain on the student which, as a consequence, may force students to develop negative attitudes toward schooling. Furthermore there are some known cases in which some teachers punished students very severely to the extent that the students developed some disabilities. These cases show that regulations governing the use of corporal punishment were not followed in practice. The issue therefore is whether corporal punishment should continue to be used or should be abolished completely in schools.

Much of the available evidence in the literature does not support the use of corporal punishment in schools. After reviewing several studies, Cryan and Smith (1981) wrote:

> According to modern behavioral psychologists, physical or social punishment constitute negative reinforcement. As such, it has been found to be relatively in-effective in permanently changing behavior because it must be continually repeated. Furthermore, a British study found corporal punishment to be more worse than effective. The study revealed that corporal punishment contributes directly to misbehavior and juvenile delinquency outside of school. (p. 434)

According to them, corporal punishment is dehumanizing and inappropriate for a school environment in that it increases disruptive behavior and hinders the learning process. Pritchard (1988) denounced the use of corporal punishment when he wrote:

> It is clear that corporal punishment should be abolished. At best, it is a vague, unreliable, and outdated model of disciplining students and should be regarded as a "relic" in the context of contemporary educational administration. It should be allowed to find a "resting place" in history along with the quill pen, ink well, coal shuttle, and the one room school house. (p.8)

It is evident then, that the use of corporal punishment in schools has many bad consequences on the students including developing negative attitudes towards schooling, truancy and dropouts. As a result, the use of corporal punishment has been abolished in many European countries and in some states and provinces in the United States and Canada respectively. Its high time that Zanzibar took similar steps.

Poor School Environment

From a group of 129 school heads who took part in the study, 22 or 17.1 per cent supported the statement that some children were not attending school or decided to drop out of school because of poor school environment (lack of furniture, classroom with leaking roofs, cracked floors and walls). Most of the school heads (72.8 per cent) disagreed with the statement and the rest (10.1 per cent) were undecided.

There are two possible ways of explaining the results. The first possibility is that most school heads believed that their schools had acceptable learning environments and hence the issue of poor school environment was out of question. The second possibility is that the learning environments of the schools were poor but the school heads did not perceive them as a factor affecting enrollment of children in their schools. A survey in this study showed that the second possibility is the most likely scenario. The survey indicated that out of 1,535 classrooms 777 or 50.6 per cent were damaged, 488 or 31.8 per cent had insufficient furniture, and 973 or 63.4 per cent had no furniture at all. The survey also showed that out of 693 toilets, 340 or 49.1 per cent were not working. Furthermore, out of 124 schools that provided information on the number and conditions of the toilets, 36 schools (29 per cent) had no toilets at all.

Despite the poor school environment, most school heads did not perceive it as a factor affecting enrollment in their schools. These perceptions of school heads might have been influenced by the fact that the poor learning environment has persisted for so long that it has become the norm. For example it is possible for a pupil to complete the primary education cycle without having a desk to sit in or write on. While the majority of school heads did not perceive poor school environment as a barrier inhibiting enrollment of children in their schools, it will be shown later that they believed it as a factor affecting the quality of education. It should be further emphasized that a good and orderly school environment not only encourages pupils and teachers to enjoy staying in school, it may also

motivate new children to join the school. Therefore the necessity to improve the learning environment of the schools cannot be overemphasized.

Long Walking Distance from Home to School

Only 17.8 per cent of 129 school heads who participated in the study agreed with the statement that some children were not attending school or decide to drop out of school because they had to walk long distances (more than three miles) from home to school. Most school heads (74.4 per cent) disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. The perceptions of the majority of school heads are well supported by statistics from the Ministry of Education that showed that out of 109,219 and 117,485 students who were in school in 1989 and 1990, only 2,669 or 2.4 per cent and 2,559 or 2.2 per cent respectively were staying more than three miles from their nearest schools (Ministry of Education, 1989; Ministry of Education, 1990). The few students who walk more than three miles to go to school were probably coming from those schools in which the school heads perceived long walking distance from home to school as a factor inhibiting the enrollment of some children in their schools. These students could be coming from schools which offered primary education only and had to go to another school for their secondary education. Because of the relatively long distances that students have to walk, some of them get disappointed and may decide to dropout of school.

The Use of Double Shift System

Out of 129 school heads who participated in the study, only 31 or 24.2 per cent supported the statement that double shift system has contributed to school dropouts and truancy and has therefore affected the enrollment of children in their schools. Most of the school heads (68.0 per cent) did not support the statement and the rest were undecided. These results are not surprising because as a matter of principle, the use of double shift system should increase enrollment of children in schools. It was introduced in Zanzibar in

the late 1970s in order to cope with the ever growing demand for classrooms. However, the presence of 26.4 per cent of school heads who disagreed with the statement suggested that the double shift system also brought in some problems for some schools. As it will be explained later a significant number of school heads believed that the double shift system has contributed significantly to the declining standards of education in Zanzibar.

With regard to school dropouts and truancy, it is difficult to figure out how the double shift system contributes to the phenomena. One possible explanation is the fact that working in the afternoons was a relatively new experience in Zanzibar. To most children, afternoons are the times for them to socialize, play and engage in their own activities. The double shift system has denied them this opportunity and those who could not afford to lose what used to be their free afternoons decided to become truants or dropouts. For children from working families, there are possibilities that some children fail to attend school because they cannot have lunch before their parents return home from work. In some rural schools where students walk a relatively long distance to go to school, some students, particularly girls, fail to attend school because of the fear of returning home alone late in the evening. The double shift system may have also resulted in separation of some groups of close friends and it is quite possible that some children are not attending school at one particular shift in order to join their friends and peer groups. These explanations are not at all conclusive and further studies are required to understand the phenomenon better.

Girls' Age of Puberty

From a group of 129 school heads who took part in the study, 44 or 34.1 per cent agreed with the statement that enrollment of school-going age children was affected in their schools because some children particularly girls were discouraged from going to school by their parents after reaching the age of puberty. The majority of the school heads (51.9 per cent) did not support the statement and 14 per cent were undecided. These results suggest that progress has been made with respect to the conservative tradition in some Zanzibar

families in which matured girls were required to remain indoors until they get married. However, the presence of 34.1 per cent of school heads who perceived reaching the age of puberty as a factor affecting enrollment of girls in their schools also suggest that the tradition is still valued in some families. When looking for strategies to improve enrollment of children in schools, this culturally bound factor should not be ignored.

Parents Use Their Children in Raising Family Income

Out of 129 school heads 68 or 52.7 per cent supported the statement that some children of school-going age were not attending school because their parents preferred to use them in raising family income. Forty-four school heads (34.1 per cent) disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results suggest that the majority of school heads believed that the decision of some parents to use their children in raising family income was affecting enrollment of children in their schools. As will be explained later, most school heads attributed this parents' decision to the need for child labor at home and poverty in most families.

Dropouts and Truancy

From a group of 129 school heads, who took part in the study 72 heads or 55.8 per cent agreed with the statement that student dropouts and truancy were serious problems affecting enrollment of children in their schools. Forty-nine school heads or 38.0 per cent disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results are in agreement with the findings discussed earlier that high dropout rates were one of the major features of the Zanzibar education system.

School dropouts and truancy are very complex phenomena. The complexity of the dropout problem is due to the fact that it is caused by many factors. These could be economic, sociological as well as cultural factors. They could also be either in-school or out-of-school factors. Because of the magnitude of the dropout problem in Zanzibar

schools appropriate strategies to combat dropouts need to be worked out. While some causes of dropout such as parents decisions to use their children in raising family income, need for child labor at home, poverty in families, early marriages of girls, and poor and hostile school environment, are quite evident in this study, further investigations that could lead to long term solutions to the problem are required.

Some Parents Do Not Understand the Importance of Education

Out of 129 school heads who participated in the study, 73 or 56.6 per cent supported the statement that some children were not attending school because their parents did not understand the importance of education. Forty-three school heads (33.3 per cent) disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results suggest that the lack of parents' awareness of the importance of education was a significant factor affecting enrollment of children in schools.

The lack of parents' awareness of the importance of education is often associated with illiteracy. According to Ngwagu (1970), "illiterate parents may not easily see the importance of formal schooling or develop positive attitudes to schooling which would encourage their children to persevere in school until the whole course or that stage of education is completed" (p. 98). Though no recent figures on illiteracy in Zanzibar are available, statistics from the Ministry of Education (Wizara ya Elimu, 1986) indicated that about 38.5 per cent of the population aged 13 and over were illiterate. The breakdown of illiteracy rates by district were as follows: Urban (16.6 per cent), West (40.3 per cent), Central (24.3 per cent), South (32.5 per cent), North A (62.2 per cent), North B (49.1 per cent), Chakechake (52.6 per cent), Mkoani (56.9 per cent), Wete (58.7 per cent), and Micheweni (48.54 per cent). Furthermore, if one compares the district illiteracy and enrollment rates, one finds out in most cases that districts with high illiteracy rates also have low enrollments suggesting a close correlation between the two rates. These results

imply that unless serious efforts to wipe out illiteracy are taken, the long desired-goal of providing basic education to all eligible children will be difficult to achieve.

Early Marriages

From a group of 129 school heads, 76 or 59 per cent agreed with the statement that some children of school-going age particularly girls, drop out of school because they get married before completing compulsory basic education. Thirty school heads or 23.3 per cent disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results were also reflected in the statistical figures of the Ministry of Education. Within a period of three years (1989–1991), 265 girls were expelled from school because of marriage reasons (Ministry of Education, 1989; Ministry of Education, 1990; Ministry of Education, 1991). Therefore early marriages appear to be a significant factor that affect the enrollment of girls in school.

The number of girls who got married before completing basic education is shocking particularly when one considers the various sections of the Zanzibar Education Act No. 6 of 1982. For example, Section 20 (1) reads: "The parent or parents, guardian or guardians of every child compulsorily enrolled for primary education shall ensure that the child regularly attends the school at which he [she] is enrolled until he [she] completes the basic education." And Section 20 (3) reads: "Every pupil compulsorily enrolled shall not marry or get married before completion of basic primary and junior secondary education. In case marriage is contracted while at school such a pupil shall be expelled."

According to Section 34 of the Education Act any person who contravenes any of the provisions of Section 20 of the Act shall be guilty of an offense and shall, on conviction be liable to the following punishments: (a) for the first offense a fine of not less than 150 shillings but not exceeding 300 shillings, (b) for the second offense, a fine of not less than 300 shillings but not exceeding 550 shillings, and (c) for the third and any subsequent

offense a fine of not less than 550 shillings but not exceeding 1,000 shillings or a jail term sentence of not more than six months or both the fine and imprisonment.

It is evident from the pieces of legislation quoted above that under ideal circumstances early marriages of school-age children should not happen. The fact that early marriages of school children take place implies poor enforcement of the law or the penalties are too lenient to stop those who commit the offense. One of the major weaknesses of the legislation is that it forces the poor girl to be a victim of circumstances. She may be expelled from school because of circumstances beyond her control because in most cases, girls are forced to get married by their parents.

In the Zanzibar culture, marriage is a very culturally sensitive issue. To some conservative families, to get married is not only symbolic but is also a matter of prestige. Because of poor law enforcement or lack of stiff penalties parents of these families will stick to the so called cultural tradition at the expense of their daughters' education. Consequently, the poor girls are denied their fundamental human right of receiving at least the basic education. It is high time now that the government reviewed relevant sections of the Education Act so as to impose stiffer penalties. The act should also be revised so as to convict men who marry school girls. Under the current legislation, the husbands are not convicted in any way.

Shortage of Classrooms

Out of 129 school heads who took part in the study, 77 or 59.7 per cent agreed with the statement that some children were not attending school because of shortage of classrooms. Forty-six school heads (35.6 per cent) did not support the statement and the rest were undecided. These results suggest that the majority of the school heads believed that a shortage of classrooms was a significant factor that affected enrollment of children in their schools.

The few classrooms built between 1982 and 1992 support the perceptions of school heads. Throughout the ten year period there was a net increase of only 76 classrooms indicating that not much was invested in the construction of new classrooms. In other words, on the average only about eight classrooms were built per year. Table 18 compares by district the net increase in the number of classrooms during the ten year period.

Table 18:

Number of Classrooms by District

District	Number of classrooms 1982	Number of classrooms 1992	Net increase
Urban	369	371	2
West	104	191	87
Central	161	147	-14
South	141	177	36
North A	139	129	-10
North B	80	75	-5
Chakechake	154	144	-10
Mkoani	171	179	8
Wete	204	186	-18
Micheweni	96	96	0
Total	1,619	1,695	76

It is clear from Table 18 that in some districts the actual number of classrooms has decreased over the last ten years. A possible explanation for this unusual observation is that in some areas, the newly built classrooms replaced temporary buildings and that fewer classrooms were being built because more schools adopted the double shift system. The

relatively large increase observed in West district was due to the conversion of some pavilion buildings built in 1984 into classrooms.

The perceptions of the majority of school heads are also well supported by the analysis of the number of streams (classes) per classroom shown in Table 19.

Table 19

Number of Streams per Classroom by District, 1992.

District	Number of classrooms	Number of streams	Streams per classroom
Urban	371	669	1.80
West	191	351	1.83
Central	147	257	1.74
South	177	206	1.19
North A	129	223	1.70
North B	75	144	1.90
Chakechake	144	267	1.84
Mkoani	179	327	1.80
Wete	186	344	1.85
Micheweni	96	166	1.73
Total	1,695	2,954	1.76

The results from Table 19 show that with the exception of South district, the number of classes per classroom in other districts varied between 1.70 and 1.90 indicating that the majority of the schools were operating on double shift basis and most likely in majority of them both shifts were full. It is therefore obvious that the shortage of classrooms has affected the enrollment of children in many schools and unless new classrooms are made available in the near future, more children will be denied their right to

receive at least basic education. A shortage of classrooms will also result in very large and crowded classes whose consequence will be declining quality of education.

Lack of Employment Opportunities for School Leavers

From a group of 97 school heads who responded to the unstructured part of the questionnaire, 79 or 81.4 per cent mentioned the lack of employment opportunities for children who completed basic or higher levels of education as a significant factor affecting enrollment in their schools. The number of school heads who mentioned this factor was about 61.0 per cent of all the school heads who participated in this study. These results suggest that the majority of school heads perceived diminishing employment prospects as a major barrier that affected enrollment in their schools. Many school heads also pointed out that many pupils drop out of school because they find those who never attended school have better living standards than those who spent about 11 years in school. Some school heads cited several examples where children who never attended school or became a dropout were better off than their teachers.

Because of poor employment prospects some pupils get disappointed with schooling and they ultimately decide to drop out. Ngwagu (1976) explained why this is so:

> Very few people today demand formal school education for its own sake. Most people see it as a form of productive investment. Consequently, people weigh the cost against the future benefits to be derived. All forms of investment involve a sacrifice of present resources so as to secure some future benefits. Cost-benefit analysis . . . provides a means of judging expected future benefits in the light of the costs that must be incurred in the present. Parents and school children are constantly making the above analysis in connection with schooling. Education wastage consequently results whenever parents and/or school children fail to see much hope of reaping future rewards from present efforts and resources invested in attending school. (p. 99).

Schooling is seen by many parents as a means of acquiring a qualification and certificate that will enable their children to secure paid employment in the modern sector of the economy. As employment in the modern sector becomes more and more difficult, even to

those with higher levels of education, many children and their parents view schooling as a waste of time.

The curriculum provided by the school could be one of the factors that magnifies further the unemployment problem. For a very long period, the content of the curriculum has been emphasizing knowledge and skills that prepared children to expect employment in the modern sector of the economy and has neglected the knowledge and skills needed in the traditional sector of the economy. For example, the school curriculum has not done much in boosting the agriculture, fishing and traditional crafts such as blacksmithing, weaving, pottery, boat-building, and home economics. The detachment of the curriculum from the local community activities made the majority of the school graduates unemployable in the traditional sector of the economy. Hence, because of lack of employment opportunities in the modern sector and because the school curriculum does not prepare the pupils for self-employment in the traditional sector, some children cannot see the immediate benefits of schooling and find it to be a source of frustration. There is therefore a need to strike a balance in the school curriculum so that it can cater for employment needs both in the modern and traditional sector of the economy.

Poor Family Background

Out of 97 school heads who responded to the unstructured part of the questionnaire, 83 or 85.5 per cent mentioned poverty in the families as one of the factors affecting enrollment of children in their schools. The number of school heads who mentioned this factor represented about 63.8 per cent of all school heads who took part in the study. Based on school heads' perceptions, poverty seems to be the most common factor affecting the enrollment of children in schools.

These results are somehow surprising particularly when bearing in mind that basic education in Zanzibar is free. There are no school fees and all learning materials are

provided to the students free of charge. The only direct cost that a parent might bear is the purchase of a school uniform. The wearing of a school uniform is, however, exempted if the child's parent cannot afford to buy one. Therefore, in most cases, there were no direct costs that parents had to bear for their children to attend school.

While there are no direct costs for schooling, there are several indirect costs that parents have to incur when their children attend school. One such cost is the loss of child labor. According to Hyde (1993), "a family's need for child labor may add a high opportunity cost to any other reasons for not sending daughters to school" (p. 112). Because of poverty in the families, parents have to find means that enables them and their children to survive. Therefore, they engage them in income generating activities such as farming, grazing, fishing and petty trading. In poor families with aging parents, children may be forced to stop schooling in order to look after the senile parents and younger children while the able ones are engaged in activities that bring food or other income to the families. In other situations, "the need for more hands in the farm may lead to able-bodied children being withdrawn from primary schools by their parents so that they can help in farm work" (Ngwagwu, 1976, p. 98).

In addition to child labor, some children fail to attend school because they come from homes that are so poor that the parents are unable to feed and clothe them properly. Lack of adequate food results in several health problems including malnutrition. Poor health ultimately prevents some children from attending school. The matter is further complicated by the fact that most of the poor families are also large families.

Therefore, because of poverty, free basic education is not a sufficient condition to guarantee school attendance. Poverty denies many children their basic human right to receive at least basic education. Since the government has committed itself to providing this human right, it should find some ways of compensating the needy parents for the opportunity cost forgone when their children attend school.

Summary

This chapter has presented the perceptions of school heads regarding the factors affecting enrollment of children in their schools. The school heads identified a total of 16 factors. Out of the 16 factors, seven were identified by more than 50 per cent of the participants and were therefore regarded as the most common. The remaining factors were regarded as less common because they were identified by less than 50 per cent of the school heads. The less common factors were the following:

1. Teachers' absenteeism.
2. Teachers' unsatisfactory job performance.
3. Inadequate curriculum.
4. Lack of opportunities for further education.
5. Use of corporal punishment.
6. Poor school environment.
7. Long walking distance from home to school.
8. Use of double shift system.
9. Girls age of puberty.

The most common factors were the following:

10. Parents' use of their children in raising family income.
11. Dropout and truancy.
12. Failure by parents to appreciate the importance of education.
13. Early marriages.
14. Shortage of classrooms.
15. Lack of employment opportunities and
16. Poor family background.

It should be noted that although the seven factors mentioned above were the most common they are not necessarily the most important in every school and those that were

less common could be very important in some schools. Therefore, a careful analysis of the situation in each school must be carried out before jumping to any conclusions.

Chapter 7

Factors Affecting the Quality of Education

Introduction

The evaluation of the basic education system discussed in Chapter 5 revealed that the quality of education in Zanzibar has declined to an alarming degree during the last ten years (1982–1992). The purpose of this chapter is to present and discuss the perceptions of school heads regarding the factors that have affected the quality of education in their schools.

Perceptions of School Heads on the Factors Affecting the Quality of Education

The perceptions were obtained through a structured questionnaire survey in which school heads were asked to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement by selecting one possible response from five possible responses (Strongly disagree, disagree, uncertain, agree, and strongly agree) given to each of the 13 statements that indicated possible factors affecting the quality of education. The five categories of responses were finally reduced to three, namely disagree, uncertain, and agree. In addition to the structured questionnaire items the school heads were also asked to write in the unstructured part of the questionnaire any other factor which in their opinion affected the quality of education in their schools. The school heads' perceptions from both the structured and unstructured parts of the questionnaire are presented in Tables 20 and 21.

From a group of 15 factors shown in Tables 19 and 20, 12 factors were supported by more than 50 per cent of the participants suggesting that the factors were quite common in most schools. The three remaining factors were supported by less than 50 per cent of the participants. There was no factor in which the uncertain response was more than 50 per

cent suggesting that most participants were knowledgeable on the factors affecting the quality of education in their schools.

Table 20

Structured Questions--Perceptions of School Heads on the Factors Affecting the Quality of Education

N = 129–130

No.	Statement	Disagree		Uncertain		Agree		Rank
		f	%	f	%	f	%	
1.	The quality of education in my school was affected by lack of teaching materials (textbooks, teachers' reference books, teaching aids, laboratory equipment, library books)	9	6.9	3	2.3	118	90.8	1
2.	The quality of education in my school was affected by poor learning environment in the classrooms.	45	34.6	7	5.4	78	60.0	8
3.	The quality of education in my school was affected by shortage of teachers.	63	48.5	9	6.9	58	44.6	13
4.	The quality of education in my school was affected by shortage of qualified teachers.	50	38.5	5	3.8	75	57.7	9
5.	The quality of education in my school was affected by lack of teacher motivation; that is, the teachers in my school were not satisfied with their job and hence were not motivated to work hard.	20	15.4	19	14.6	91	70.0	2
6.	The quality of education was affected by the headmasters/headmistresses' lack of power and authority in making decisions about their schools	39	30.0	25	19.2	66	50.8	12
7.	The quality of education was affected by lack of teachers' support from education experts (inspectors, curriculum developers); that is, teachers are not getting sufficient support regarding their work from inspectors and curriculum experts.	24	18.5	19	14.6	87	66.9	4
8.	The quality of education in my school was affected by the present system of inspection of teachers which is based more on finding out 'what is wrong' than in providing help and support to teachers.	21	16.1	24	18.5	85	65.4	5

(Table 20 continued . . .)

No.	Statement	Disagree		Uncertain		Agree		Rank
		f	%	f	%	f	%	
9.	The quality of education was affected by the lack of parent involvement and support; that is, parents are not concerned with problems and progress of the schools.	31	23.8	9	6.9	90	69.2	3
10.	The quality of education was affected because the headmasters/headmistresses lack basic training and skills in school administration and management (lack of training in leadership skills, supervision skills, curriculum development and communication skills).	26	20.0	34	26.2	70	53.8	11
11.	The double shift system already present in my school contributes to poor quality of education.	33	25.6	17	13.2	79	61.2	7
12.	The quality of education in my school was affected by large numbers of children per class; that is, teachers are teaching classes with more than 45 pupils.	41	31.8	5	3.9	83	64.3	6
13.	The quality of education in my school was affected by heavy teaching loads; that is, teachers were teaching more than 32 periods per week.	45	34.9	11	8.5	73	56.6	10

Table 21

Unstructured Questions--Perceptions of School Heads on the Factors Affecting the Quality of Education.

N = 96

No.	Factor	Responses		Rank
		f	%	
14.	Official absenteeism of women teachers	21	21.9	15
15.	Sudden shift in the language of instruction	39	40.6	14

A discussion of each factor is given in order of increasing agree responses.

Official Absenteeism of Women Teachers

Out of 96 school heads who responded to the unstructured part of the questionnaire, 21 or 21.9 per cent believed that the current government regulation of giving mothers three months of maternity leave every two years affected the quality of education in their schools. Further analysis of the results showed that all school heads who mentioned this factor came from urban schools. The school heads represented about 61.8 per cent of school heads from urban schools. These results suggest that the majority of school heads in urban schools believed that the quality of education in their schools was affected by the absence of women teachers who took maternity leave.

Since maternity leave is the right of all government women employees, there is no reason why teachers should not enjoy that right. However the concerns of the school heads from urban schools should not be ignored. It is a fact that a large proportion of the teaching force in urban schools comprises women. For instance, in 1992, women accounted for 76.4 per cent of the teaching force in the Urban district. It does happen sometimes that in a single school, two or more teachers take maternity leave simultaneously. Because of already high teaching loads and large class sizes, it becomes almost impossible for the other teachers in the school to replace those who take maternity leave. Consequently, some students may not learn certain subjects until their teachers resume duties after approximately three months. There is no doubt that the quality of education provided to these students is affected. Hence something has to be done to arrest the situation.

One possible measure is to redistribute teachers so that there is a fair balance between male and female teachers in all schools. The implementation of this measure would not be easy because it would involve moving some of the teachers considerable distances. The situation is further complicated by the fact that most of rural schools, where the majority of the teachers could be posted, do not have teachers' houses. Another

measure that could be looked at is to have a system of teaching assistants. These assistants would have the responsibility of replacing absent teachers. These assistants would also have the responsibility of giving extra tutorials to children with certain difficulties or those who have been identified by the school as slow learners. However, before these measures are implemented, a study should be carried out to understand the magnitude of the problem in urban schools.

Sudden Shift in the Language of Instruction

From a group of 96 school heads who responded to the unstructured part of the questionnaire, 39 or 40.6 per cent believed that a shift in the language of instruction from Swahili in primary to English in secondary schools was one of the factors that affected the quality of education in their schools. The number of school heads who mentioned the language factor was about 30.0 per cent of all school heads who participated in the study. These results suggest that some school heads were not happy with the current policy on the medium of instruction in Zanzibar schools.

The current policy is to use Swahili as a medium of instruction in primary schools and English as a medium of instruction in secondary schools and post secondary institutions. Two schools of thought dominate the debate on the medium of instruction to be used in Zanzibar schools. The first one, in favor of using Swahili as a language of instruction from primary to secondary schools, argues that Swahili is the national language which is spoken and understood fluently by students, teachers, and parents. In addition to enhancing national pride, the use of Swahili in secondary schools would facilitate the learning process as both the teachers and students would be communicating through the language in which all are fluent. They further argue that many countries in both the developed and developing world are using their national languages as media of instruction from kindergarten to tertiary level education and they do not see why Zanzibar and Tanzania in general cannot do the same. It should be noted that the people who advocate

the use of Swahili as a medium of instruction from primary to higher levels do emphasize that English should continue to be a compulsory subject in primary and secondary schools.

On the other hand, the second school of thought, in favor of using English as a medium of instruction from primary to higher education levels argues that the use of English in primary schools will make the students better prepared for their secondary education which is taught in English. They attribute the poor performance of students in national examinations to students' lack of comprehension and understanding of the English language. They further argue that English is, and will continue to be the international language and for Zanzibar to be able to tap and exploit the ever growing developments in science and technology, its people must have good command of the English language.

While both groups have strong convincing points, there is no denying that the use of local languages or vernacular in schools enhances students' understanding and comprehension of subject matter and therefore has positive impact on the quality of education. Despite the short term advantages of using English as a medium of instruction in secondary schools, the long term benefits of using the national language as a medium of instruction for all levels of education should not be ignored. Studies must be commissioned to find out how and when the national language should be introduced in secondary and tertiary levels of education.

Shortage of Teachers

Out of 130 school heads who participated in the study, 58 or 44.6 per cent supported the statement that the quality of education in their schools was affected by a shortage of teachers. Fifty-three school heads or 48.5 per cent disagreed and the rest were undecided. These results indicate that a significant number of schools were experiencing shortages of teachers. The shortage of teachers was perceived by some school heads as a factor affecting the quality of education for two possible reasons: (a) it may result in heavy

teaching loads and (b) it may result in larger class sizes. As will be explained later in this chapter, heavy teaching loads and large class sizes are associated with the decline in the quality of education.

These results are not in agreement with the findings discussed earlier in Chapter 5 where the number of teachers was found to be adequate in all districts. The pupil-teacher ratios for the year 1992 varied from 33:1 in Urban district to 24:1 in Mkoani, Chakechake and Micheweni districts. Despite the disparities in the distribution of teachers, the pupil-teacher ratios in all districts were within acceptable levels. A possible explanation that could account for the observed perceptions of school heads is that there was inequitable distribution of teachers among districts and between schools within a particular district. Some schools in the same district have extra teachers while others were experiencing shortages. In a centralized education system, where training, recruitment and posting of teachers is controlled centrally, there should be no disparities in the distribution of teachers. Efforts should be made to rectify the situation.

School Heads Lack Power and Authority

From a group of 130 school heads who participated in the study, 66 or 50.8 per cent supported the statement that the quality of education was affected in their schools because they did not have power and authority to make important decisions regarding their schools. Thirty-nine school heads or 30 per cent disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results suggest that the majority of school heads believed that the quality of education in their schools was affected because they did not have the necessary power and authority in making decisions that could effect improvement.

In order to arrive at a logical explanation to the observed results, there is need to examine the power and authority given to school heads in Zanzibar. The general situation

in Zanzibar is similar to the one explained by Lockheed et al. (1991) for other developing countries:

> At the school level, authority and responsibilities are acutely mismatched. Principals are largely excluded from decisions that affect their ability to improve student achievement. Curricula are designed centrally, and the diverse capacities and interests of schools and students are often ignored. Teachers are appointed, assigned, and evaluated centrally, leaving principals with little control over the choice or discipline of their teachers. . . . Nor do principals have the authority and resources to organize staff development programs that address the problems and challenges faced by teachers in their schools. (p. 122)

Although the Zanzibar education system has some elements of decentralization, the majority of the activities are centralized. All issues related to planning, finance, curriculum development, supervision and evaluation, recruitment and deployment of teachers, maintenance of physical facilities and purchase of instructional materials are managed and controlled centrally. Furthermore, those officials who are supposed to effect the decentralization process, such as regional and district education officers, have not been given sufficient authority and resources to perform their tasks efficiently.

Under the circumstances observed above by Lockheed et al. (1991) and the current practice of managing education in Zanzibar, it is evident that because of over-centralization, the school heads in Zanzibar do not have control over the most crucial areas in educational quality improvement such as curriculum, supervision and evaluation, professional development of teachers, and maintaining of a conducive learning environment. It is therefore clear that the current practice of managing education does not provide the school heads with sufficient power and authority to effect changes necessary to bring about improvement in the quality of education in their schools.

While there are obvious advantages of centralization, particularly for a small country like Zanzibar, there are many disadvantages that if left unchecked, may have disastrous consequences:

> Highly centralized control can, however, bottleneck information and resource flows and limit the ability of schools to respond to local needs. When decision making authority is concentrated at the center, high level staff devote their time to such tasks as appointing and assigning teachers, reviewing and accounting for thousands of expenditure requests, and planning budgets and allocating resources for individual schools. When time is consumed with administrative duties that could be delegated to lower levels, high level administrators, cannot effectively carry out their principal functions: planning broad policies, designing strategies for implementing those policies, monitoring the consequences of policy implementation through testing and evaluation, providing financial resources and technical expertise, and obtaining and distributing educational materials. (Lockheed et al., p. 120)

Thus excessive centralization not only denies the school heads autonomy that would enable them to introduce innovative changes in their schools, but it also denies the few competent staff at the central level the time and energy to deal with crucial issues that could help to improve the quality of education provided by the schools. The delegation of appropriate authority to lower administrative levels, particularly to school heads, will therefore be a step towards improving the quality of education in Zanzibar schools.

School Heads Lack Relevant Training

Out of 130 school heads who participated in the study, 70 or 53.8 per cent supported the statement that the quality of education was affected in their schools because of the headmasters/headmistresses's lack of basic training and skills in school administration and management (lack of training in leadership skills, supervision skills, curriculum development, and communication skills). Twenty-six school heads or 20 per cent did not support the statement and the rest were undecided. These results suggest that the majority of school heads believed that their lack of relevant training in school administration and management had a negative impact on the quality of education provided in their schools.

The perceptions of the majority of school heads were in agreement with their responses to a question related to their training. This study has found that out of the 130

school heads, 113 or 86.9 per cent did not have any training before becoming school heads. When responding to a question on whether they have received any training after becoming school heads, 77.7 per cent responded positively. However, 90 per cent of them indicated that they received only short term training in the form of seminars only once or twice for a period not exceeding three weeks. These result indicate that most of the school heads started their new tasks without any training, and the training they received after becoming school heads was very inadequate. It can therefore be concluded that most of the school heads were not prepared for the job and it was therefore not surprising to see the majority of them perceiving that their lack of training and skills in relevant areas affected the quality of education in their schools.

The importance of school heads in bringing about school improvement cannot be overemphasized. Hawes & Stephens (1990) wrote: "While it is hard to single out any level of administrator as more important than any other in the promotion of quality, there is no denying that school heads are second to none in importance and infinitely more numerous than all the rest put together" (p. 146). According to Commonwealth Secretariat (1991), one of the characteristic of a good school is "a firm leadership from an enlightened head, who adopts a participatory approach to management, especially in the distribution of functions, roles and responsibilities, including management of resources" (p. 21). The Secretariat identified the tasks of a school head as:

> Professional leader of the teaching staff: guiding, assisting and encouraging them with their professional work and providing feedback on their strengths and weaknesses.
>
> Supervisor: ensuring that the school's performance conforms with regulations and expectations laid down externally, as well as with the rules of good conduct governing behavior in school.
>
> Resources manager: selecting, negotiating, and obtaining the resources required in the school; deploying teachers, classroom and teaching spaces in the most economical but pedagogically effective way possible, and ever striving to improve the productivity of the school and its features, and good performance by teachers and pupils.

> Diplomat: representing the school to the outside world, both the local community and the central education administration. (pp. 21–22)

Hawes and Stephens (1990) classified the tasks of school heads into four roles: (a) an administrative role, (b) a research and evaluation role, (c) a community role, and (d) a curriculum role. They noted that "currently the administrative role predominates, often fueled by the demand of bureaucracy" (p. 147).

The tasks/roles of school heads referred to above are not only demanding but also very challenging. Most of the tasks demand some specialized training in such areas as curriculum development, supervision and evaluation, human resources management, effective communication and many others. The very broad nature of the tasks of school heads requires high level training in the relevant areas. According to Hawes and Stephens (1990), good recruitment and adequate training of educational managers including school heads is fundamental to the quality of education.

Available research not only supports the idea that the effectiveness of schools depends upon the school heads, but it has also singled out the school heads level of academic and professional training as the main influencing factor (Fuller, 1987). For example, a study by Heyneman and Loxely (1983) in 60 Egyptian primary schools found that pupils performed better in schools whose heads had had more training and more teaching experience before taking the responsibility.

It is obvious from the school heads' perceptions and evidence from research that adequate academic and professional training of school heads has a positive impact on the quality of education. The Government should therefore make sure that those who are given responsibility to head education institutions are well trained both academically and professionally. Hence the need for inservice training for those who are already in the job and preservice training for teachers who aspire to become school heads or educational administrators in the future. In a situation like that of Zanzibar, where a significant

proportion of the teaching force comprises untrained and under-qualified teachers, the need for school heads to have adequate academic and professional training becomes even more important.

Heavy Teaching Loads

From a group of 129 school heads, 73 or 56.6 per cent agreed with the statement that the quality of education in their schools was affected by heavy teaching loads of teachers, that is teachers were having more than 32 periods per week. Forty-five school heads or 34.9 per cent disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results suggest that a heavy teaching load was perceived by many school heads as a factor affecting the quality of education in their schools.

The heavy teaching loads of teachers affect the quality of education in the following way: As the working day progresses, teachers get exhausted and become less and less effective in imparting knowledge to the students. Also, less and less time becomes available for teachers to do other equally important duties such as marking pupils' worksheets and providing them with feedback, doing some reading and research, and paying attention to individual pupil's problems, all of which are important in ensuring that teachers impart to the pupils a good quality of education.

The heavy teaching load and shortage of teachers as factors affecting the quality of education are closely related. It is logical to expect that in a school where there is a shortage of teachers, there will also be heavy teaching loads. As already explained, pupil-teacher ratio data in all districts did not in any way suggest a shortage of teachers. The high teaching loads observed in some schools may be due to inequitable distribution of teachers among different schools.

Shortage of Qualified Teachers

Out of 130 school heads who took part in the study, 75 or 57.7 per cent supported the statement that the quality of education in their school was affected by shortage of qualified teachers. Fifty school heads or 38.5 per cent disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results indicate that majority of school heads believed that the quality of education was affected by the shortage of qualified teachers. The perceptions of school heads support the findings reported earlier that a significant proportion of teachers teaching at basic education level did not possess the desired professional and academic qualifications. The matter was further complicated by the fact that there was inequitable distribution of qualified teachers among schools. For example in 1992, South district had only 10.5 per cent of its teachers untrained while in Micheweni district 45.1 per cent of its teachers were untrained. It should be noted however that national examination results in Zanzibar did not seem to be related to the academic and professional qualification of teachers. The results have been fluctuating. In some years districts with the highest proportion of qualified teachers did not perform any better than those with larger proportions of untrained or under-qualified teachers.

Research on the effect of teachers' academic and professional qualifications on quality of education (academic achievements) has shown mixed results. The perceptions of school heads who perceived teachers' academic and professional qualifications as a factor affecting the quality of education are supported by findings from several studies. Studies by Heyneman and Loxely (1983) in India, Uganda, Bolivia and Brazil found a positive relationship between teachers' years of formal schooling and students' academic achievement in science. Similarly, teachers' years of post secondary instruction and teacher training were found to have positive effect on students' academic achievements in reading and science in several countries (Comber & Keeves, 1973). On the other hand several other studies found that academic and professional qualifications of teachers did not

have any significant positive effect on academic achievement of students (Heyneman, 1976; Heyneman & Loxely, 1983). The findings from this study and those from other studies signify the importance of further investigation to find out what teacher qualities have positive effect on academic achievements of students in Zanzibar.

Poor Learning Environment

Sixty per cent of the 130 school heads who participated in the study supported the statement that the quality of education in their schools was affected by a poor learning environment of their schools (lack of furniture, classrooms with either leaking roofs, cracked walls or cracked/dusty floors). Forty-five school heads or 34.6 per cent disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results indicate that the majority of school heads believed that a poor learning environment contributed to the low quality of education in their schools.

As already reported in the previous chapter, a poor learning environment is a common feature in many schools. The perceptions of the majority of school heads confirmed the existence of an unsatisfactory learning environment in many schools. A possible explanation for those school heads who disagreed with the statement is that either their schools had a satisfactory learning environment or the poor learning environment had persisted for so long that they see it as the norm rather than a defect.

The perceptions of the majority of school heads who believed that the poor learning environment had negative impact on the quality of education are well supported in the literature. Fuller (1987), citing evidence from one study reported that "a recent study of 324 sixth-grade students in Peru discovered that the percentage of children with classroom desks was more strongly related to reading achievement than was the influence of social background" (p. 278). In addition to availability of desks, several studies have shown that poor physical facilities demoralize both students and teachers and ultimately affect the

learning situation and that better physical facilities provide better conditions for learning and hence promote the academic achievement of students (Urwick & Junaidu, 1991).

It is clear from the perceptions of the majority of school heads and from several other studies that the improvement of the learning environment in the classroom could boost the quality of education provided to the students. Therefore efforts must be made to renovate the school buildings and equip them with adequate furniture.

Use of Double Shift System

When discussing factors affecting enrollment in schools it was mentioned that most schools in Zanzibar were operating on double shift basis. Out of 129 school heads who took part in the study, 79 or 61.2 per cent supported the statement that the use of double shift system has affected the quality of education in their schools. Thirty-three school heads or 25.6 per cent did not support the statement and the rest were undecided. These results suggest that majority of school heads believed that double shift system had a negative impact on the quality of education provided in their schools.

Few studies are available in the literature regarding the effect of multishift schooling on the quality of education. Fuller (1987), after a thorough review of literature reported:

> An insufficient number of studies has occurred from which to generalize. However, two of three studies have found no detrimental effect on achievement from the number of class shifts per day. In Malaysia (89 secondary schools), a negative achievement effect was observed where schools operated two sessions of classes each day. (p. 286)

Evidence from the literature showed mixed results. However from the Zanzibar perspective, the use of double shift system could have affected the quality of education in the following ways:

1. The teaching time was reduced from 40 minutes to 35 minutes per period and the school day was shortened by about 45 minutes in order to accommodate two shifts. Less instructional time has a negative impact on the quality of education.

2. There was no room and time to perform extra activities (for example, extra tutoring to help slow learners) as the buildings were fully occupied.

3. The more rapid deterioration of physical facilities such as classroom buildings and furniture has resulted in unsatisfactory learning environment which has negative impact on the quality of education.

4. The climate in Zanzibar is not conducive to working in the afternoons. Consequently, both teachers and students become exhausted very quickly. Furthermore, as most parents have to go to work in the morning and return home in late afternoons, there is a possibility that some pupils rush to school without lunch. Under these circumstances, no effective teaching and learning could be anticipated.

5. Traditionally, adults, including teachers, use the afternoons for their personal activities, social and cultural gatherings/ceremonies, and other functions. Without going to these functions, teachers risk the danger of isolation from the rest of the community. Therefore, it would not be surprising to find a higher rate of teachers' absenteeism or irregular attendance in the afternoon shifts which may have negative impact on the quality of education.

6. Children are accustomed to using afternoons for sports, games and other activities. Like their teachers, afternoon shifts have denied them their precious time of socialization, relaxation and enjoyment. For some students, who cannot afford to miss those activities, irregular attendance and absenteeism could be the order of the day.

While it is beyond doubt that double shift system has arrested the problem of shortage of classrooms in many schools, the concerns listed above should not be ignored. Furthermore, since there are still some schools which operate on single shifts, a comparative study designed to address the above concerns could help to understand the effects of double shift schooling not only on the quality of education but also other education parameters such as pupils' and teachers' attendance.

Large Class Sizes

From a group of 129 school heads who participated in the study, 83 or 64.3 per cent supported the statement that the quality of education in their schools was affected by large number of children per class, that is more than 45 pupils per classroom. Forty-one school heads or 31.8 per cent disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results suggest that the majority of the school heads believed that larger class sizes in their schools had a negative impact on the quality of education.

Data on class sizes do not seem to support the perceptions of school heads. The national average class size was about 42 pupils per classroom in 1992 and it has always been within the norm of 40–45 pupils per class for the past ten years. Only two districts namely, Urban and West had average class sizes of more than 45 pupils per class by 1992. In general large class sizes were observed in urban schools of all districts. However, all remaining districts had average class sizes below 45 pupils per class indicating that class sizes in most schools in rural districts were below the norm.

The mismatch between the school head perceptions and the reality observed in schools could be due to the fact that there is a great controversy on what constitutes an optimum class size from both economic and pedagogical perspectives. In many developing countries, because of ever increasing pressures of more and more classrooms, the definition of the optimum class size was influenced by economic rather than pedagogical

criteria. It is quite possible that what the bureaucrats believed to be the optimum class size is quite different from what teachers perceive. To some school heads 45 pupils per class could be too much. In fact in many developed countries the norm is below 30 pupils per class.

The available evidence from developing countries regarding the effect of class size on quality of education is not conclusive. Fuller (1987), after undertaking a thorough review of literature on effect of class size on student achievement reported: "Within normal ranges, the presence of fewer students per classroom has held no consistent effect on achievement in 11 out of 21 analyses. In five additional studies, students working in larger classes actually performed at higher levels" (p. 276). What is still missing from the literature is the definition of the "normal ranges". However, there is no disputing that very large class sizes have negative impact on the quality of education. Based on standards in many developed countries, a norm of 40–45 pupils per class is very high. Efforts should therefore be made to reduce class sizes by constructing more classrooms, particularly in those schools where the average class size is already above 40 pupils.

System of Inspection of Teachers

Out of 130 school heads who took part in the study, 85 or 65.4 per cent supported the statement that the quality of education in their schools was affected by the present system of inspection of teachers. Twenty-one school heads or 16.1 per cent disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results suggest that the majority of the school heads believed that the system of inspection of teachers did not have positive a impact on the quality of education in their schools. To understand why it is so there is need to examine the system of inspection of teachers in Zanzibar.

In short the system of inspection of teachers in Zanzibar is based on the traditional approach that applies bureaucratic and scientific management principles and is intended to

find out what is wrong rather than providing help and support. For example, school inspectors have power to inspect any teacher without prior notice. Inspectors also expect teachers to follow certain laid down rules and procedures in their teaching. The relationship between the inspector and the teacher is that of superordinate and subordinate respectively. Sergiovanni and Starrat (1993) explained some of the experiences of teachers who came across this type of supervision:

> Many stories told by teachers of their experiences of "being supervised" are anything but uplifting. Again and again teachers tell of being placed in win-lose situations, of experiencing powerlessness, manipulation, sexual harassment, and racial and ethnic stereotyping. At best their encounters with supervisors lead directly to evaluative judgments based on the skimpiest of evidence. At worst they are destructive of autonomy, self-confidence, and personal integrity. In other words, supervision as practiced by many supervisors is not only nonprofessional, it is dehumanizing and unethical. (p. 59)

Acheson and Gall (1992), elaborated further on the weaknesses of traditional supervision:

> In traditional inservice supervision, the supervisor . . . initiates the supervisory process to evaluate the teacher's performance. The evaluation function may be mandated . . . by ministries of education. This situation creates two problems. First, supervision becomes equated with evaluation. People tend to be anxious when they know they are being evaluated especially if negative evaluations threaten their jobs. No wander, then teachers react negatively to supervision. The second problem is that supervision arises from a need of the supervisor, rather than from a need felt by the teacher. (p. 8)

They continued:

> Because traditional supervision tends to be unpleasant, interaction between supervisor and teacher is avoided or minimized. Unfortunately this practice compounds the problem. The supervisor may show up unannounced at the teacher's classroom to observe what is happening. The teacher has no knowledge of what the supervisor might observe and evaluate. . . . The supervisor, on the other hand, may not have planned what to observe and evaluate. The result is that classroom observation data are likely to be unsystematic, highly subjective, and vague. . . . The teacher may not have an opportunity to confer with the supervisor about the observational data and evaluative criteria used in the report, even though the report may be used in important decisions relating to the teacher's promotion and tenure. (p. 8)

The observations quoted above are not uncommon in the Zanzibar education system. The situation is further complicated by the fact that school inspectors are supposed to perform two roles--supervision and evaluation. At what time should they perform their supervisory role and at what time should they perform the evaluation role? Because of other problems facing school inspectors such as lack of a reliable transportation system, adequate training, and meeting bureaucratic demands that every teacher should be inspected at least once every two years, the evaluation role becomes predominant. In addition to these problems, the relatively small number of inspectors compared to the number of teachers to be inspected each year forces them to concentrate on the evaluative role. The emphasis on the evaluative role creates an unhealthy relationship between inspectors and teachers which in turn creates an environment which does not encourage the teacher's professional support and growth.

In summary, the current system of inspection of teachers does not help them in their day to day work, but can instead create a hostile situation that may result in job dissatisfaction and lack of motivation. Furthermore, the inspection system has made the school heads to rely so much on the inspectors that they have forgotten their role as professional and instructional leaders of schools. Consequently, teachers do not get adequate professional support from either the inspectors or the school heads, and the quality of education is inevitably made to suffer.

It is clear from the discussion that the current system of inspection of teachers has several problems. These problems of traditional supervision call for the introduction of a better system of supervising teachers in Zanzibar.

Teachers' Lack of Support from Education Experts

From a group of 130 school heads who participated in the study, 87 or 66.9 per cent supported the statement that the quality of education in their school was affected by the lack of teachers' support from education experts such as school inspectors and curriculum

developers. Twenty-four school heads (18.5 per cent) disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results suggest that the majority of the school heads believed that the quality of education in their schools was affected because teachers did not receive professional support from the education experts.

The experts that were supposed to help the teachers in their work included school inspectors, curriculum developers, and other experts appointed by the Ministry of Education from time to time. Support to teachers could be effected through any of the following possibilities: (a) an effective supervision and monitoring system through school inspectors, and (b) through effective in-service training and professional development programs. As it has been already explained, the system of inspection of teachers was not effective in providing professional support for teachers. The major weaknesses of the inspection system was its emphasis on evaluation rather than professional growth and the fact that the school inspectors were too few to the extent that only few teachers could have benefited from their expertise.

The system of in-service training and professional development also had several setbacks. It was not regarded as a regular and essential activity for teachers. Hence in many situations no funds were made available to finance in-service training or professional development programs for teachers. The few programs that were conducted were made possible by external funding agencies. The dependency on external funds has forced in-service training programs to be conducted on ad hoc basis and since the funds were very limited only few teachers were involved.

Another setback of the in-service training programs was that they were designed by the "experts" without effectively involving teachers. The "experts" assumed that they knew what teachers needed and conducted the in-service training programs according to what the "experts" believed best for teachers. According to Raundenbush, Eamsukkawat, Di-Ibor, Kamali, and Taoklam (1993), teachers' involvement in the identification of course content

and materials is a key to successful in-service training programs. Furthermore, because of limitations in resources, the in-service training programs were carried out for a short period in the form of one shot workshops, with no follow-ups to measure the effectiveness. In-service training programs conducted in this manner are not effective:

> The literature seem to indicate that short term courses without classroom follow-up are unpromising. Effective in-service instruction apparently requires classroom demonstrations, opportunities for teachers to practice and refine pedagogical techniques, and sustained follow-up, supported by classroom observation and feedback. (Raundenbush, Eamsukkawat, Di-Ibor, Kamali, & Taoklam, 1993, p. 283)

It is clear from the above discussion that majority of the teachers in Zanzibar did not have the very much needed support from the education experts. Without effective professional support, and bearing in mind that a substantial proportion of teachers were either untrained or under-qualified, the observed quality of education should not be surprising.

While professional support to teachers through in-service training programs were found to have a positive impact on the quality of education, there is no disputing that effective conventional methods of in-service training and professional development are very expensive and beyond the affordability of many developing countries including Zanzibar. Alternative cost-effective teacher-support mechanisms must be developed so that every practicing teacher will have access to professional support whenever needed. If the quality of education is to increase, the competencies of teachers already in the job must be enhanced (Raundenbush, Bhumirat, & Kamali, 1992).

Lack of Parent Involvement

Out of 130 school heads who participated in the study 90 or 69.2 per cent agreed with the statement that the quality of education in their schools was affected by the lack of parent involvement and support, that is, many parents were not concerned with the problems and progress of the schools. Thirty-one school heads or 23.8 per cent disagreed

with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results suggest that most school heads believed that lack of parent involvement in school activities affected the quality of education provided in their schools.

It is now generally accepted that "the closer the parent is to the education of the child, the greater the impact on child development and educational achievement" (Fullan, 1991, p. 227). Bacchus (1991) also emphasized the importance of parent involvement in improving the quality of education when he wrote:

> when efforts at curriculum development are carried out in cooperation with the key members of the community, the outcome can be to help alleviate potential resistance to curriculum changes by increasing the perceived relevance by the parents and the pupils of the education which the schools are providing. This can help raise the level of academic achievement among pupils, lower significantly the rates of grade repetition and generally result in an overall improvement in the quality of their education. (p. 15)

While the perceptions of school heads generally suggest lack of parent involvement and support in most Zanzibar schools, there is need to look at the legal provisions which advocate parent involvement in schools. According to Section 24(1) of the Zanzibar Education Act, each school is supposed to have a school committee. The composition of the school committee is as follows:

1. The chairmen who will be elected by the District Commissioner and who shall be an elder member in that society and who commands the respect of that society.

2. One member from the local government area that the school serves.

3. One member from each of the Party Branch within that area where the school is situated.

4. Not more than two members who will be appointed by the District Education Officer.

5. The head-teacher of the school as the secretary.

A survey in this study indicated that all school heads who took part in the study mentioned the existence of school committees in their schools and 94.4 per cent of the school heads believed that the committees were useful. However about 41 per cent of the school heads reported that the committees were either not holding meetings regularly or not meeting at all. When the meetings are not taking place, the functionality and effectiveness of the committees in schools are jeopardized.

Two major issues seem to confront the school committees. The first one is whether the system of appointing committee members is appropriate and effective; and the second issue is whether there are motivating conditions for the committee to hold their meetings regularly.

On the issue of appointment of members, several questions could be raised: (a) Were the criteria used to appoint members appropriate? (b) To what extent were the committee members conversant with and interested in educational matters? (c) To what extent were the members supported by the rest of the community? and (d) To what extent were the members acceptable to teachers?

A close look at the system of appointment of school committee members reveals that most of the members were appointed according to their portfolios rather than ability and interest in education. Furthermore the system of appointment did not guarantee community and teachers' support. The irregular attendance of committee members at meetings and the disfunctioning of some school committees may be reflecting some of the weaknesses that could be due to the ineffective system of appointing the school committee members. The current problems facing the school committees call for a review of the system of appointing school committee members. To ensure that the members have the ability, interest, and motivation to work for the interest of the schools, it is suggested that members of the committees should be elected by community members instead of being

appointed by one authority. A system of school elections will not only guarantee democracy but will also make the elected members more accountable to their communities.

As well as the election of school committee members is necessary to make sure that the elected committees are delegated with appropriate power and authority to run the schools. The current trend of using the committees on ad hoc basis mainly for the purpose of solving particular school crises is not healthy in ensuring sustainable improvement in the quality of education. The delegation of power and authority should include among other things the management of school property and resources, disciplinary actions against students and teachers, and generation and administration of funds.

Another issue to consider is how to create motivating conditions so that the committees become effective and efficient. One aspect is to consider some form of allowances when committee members attend their scheduled meetings. Many committee members, particularly those from rural areas, earn their income through activities such as subsistence agriculture and fishing. When attending meetings this income is forgone. The income forgone could be one of the factors that could explain why some members were not attending meetings. The introduction of some allowances that could compensate the income forgone would significantly boost the morale and motivation of the committee members and facilitate regular and effective committee meetings.

In addition to school committees, another issue that needs close examination is how schools involve all parents whose children are pupils in those schools. This study has found that apart from school committees, there are no other policies that require schools to involve parents in various activities. For example, about 40 per cent of the school heads admitted that their schools had no activities such as "parent days" that involved all parents. Also, 46 per cent of the school heads reported that they did not notify parents on the progress of their children in schools. These results suggest a lack of policies and guidelines regarding parent involvement in schools. Because of the importance of parents'

involvement in improving the quality of education, the Ministry of Education should develop some guidelines that will facilitate good school-community relations. Among other things, the guidelines should ensure that school parent days are mandatory at least once a year, and that the schools notify parents regularly on the progress of their children in schools.

Lack of Teachers' Motivation

From a group of 130 school heads who participated in the study, 91 or 70 per cent supported the statement that the quality of education in their schools was affected by the lack of teacher motivation and teachers were not satisfied with their job and hence were not motivated to work hard. Twenty school heads or 15.4 per cent disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results suggest that the majority of school heads perceived lack of teacher motivation as a factor affecting the quality of education in their schools. Many school heads mentioned inadequate salaries as a major factor of teachers' job dissatisfaction. The evidence of teachers' job dissatisfaction was also reflected in the results of a study carried out by Mosha & Sumra (1992) in which about 70 per cent of all teachers in Zanzibar responded positively when asked if they thought of leaving the teaching profession.

Job satisfaction is important in education because it is closely associated with teacher turnover and absenteeism. According to Nhundu (1992), "school systems stand to lose substantially in terms of productivity, low morale, and financially by having dissatisfied teachers in their staff because these teachers are less productive, less positive, and are often not available to provide continuity of instruction" (p. 237). Although research on teachers' job satisfaction and motivation in developing countries is limited, evidence from developed countries shows that dissatisfaction amongst teachers is associated with the following factors: unfavorable work conditions, poor school policy and administration, supervision and evaluation policies, job security and salary

considerations. Teachers' job satisfaction was generally associated with recognition, responsibility, sense of achievement, the work itself, and good interpersonal relations with parents, supervisors, colleagues, and students (Nhundu, 1992; Schmidt, 1976; Sergiovanni, 1976;Wickstrom, 1973). Herzberg (1966) termed the factors that cause job dissatisfaction "job dissatisfiers" or hygiens because they are preventive and environmental and he called those that cause teachers job satisfaction the "job satisfiers" or motivators because they fulfill an individual need for psychological growth. According to Herzberg (1966), only motivators contribute to job satisfaction and motivation. Hygiens must be present to prevent job dissatisfaction but do not necessarily contribute to job satisfaction and motivation.

In the Zanzibar context, several causes of teachers' job dissatisfaction are evident. These include unsatisfactory working conditions, organizational and administrative policies, supervision and evaluation policies and inadequate salaries. Over the last five years the Government has done commendable efforts to increase salaries and other fringe benefits of teachers. In fact teachers are enjoying the highest salary scales in the civil service. These efforts helped to prevent further job dissatisfaction of teachers but did not result in any remarkable improvement in their work performance as could be judged from improvements in the quality of education. This shows that in addition to salary considerations other factors of job dissatisfaction must be considered simultaneously.

One such factor to be considered is the organizational and administrative policies. The Zanzibar education system is highly centralized and very bureaucratic. Teachers are at the bottom of the hierarchy and have to channel their personal and professional matters through a series of bureaucrats before final decisions are made by the responsible authority at the Ministry of Education headquarters. The tall hierarchical structure could be the main cause of delays in decision-making. The unnecessary delays in decision-making at the central level disappoint teachers and become the main sources of job dissatisfaction. There

is a need for the Ministry to decentralize the decision making process and surrender part of its authority to lower levels particularly the school heads and district education officers.

The bureaucratic nature of the Zanzibar education system is also evident in the supervision, evaluation and curriculum development policies. The current supervision and evaluation practice is seen by many teachers as dictatorial and authoritarian. In addition to bureaucratic supervision, teachers are required to teach according to highly specified curriculum and syllabi developed by the Department of Curriculum Development. Textbooks and teaching methods are specified and teachers have limited freedom and flexibility to approach and teach the topics according to what they think is best for their pupils. In other words, teachers lack autonomy in their own classrooms. Conely, Bacharach, and Bauer (1989), while accepting that bureaucracy in schools may help to clarify expectations for teachers and provide directions for their work activities, cautioned that if school bureaucracy results in too much direction and control of teachers' activities, teachers may perceive the creation of rules as an infringement on the autonomy they expect as professionals. They found out that bureaucratization leads to increased routinization and mundaneness of work activities, which results in dissatisfaction.

In addition to inadequate salaries, bureaucratic organizational/administrative policies, and supervision/evaluation practices, poor working conditions experienced by some teachers in certain schools also contribute to their dissatisfaction and lack of motivation. The poor working conditions include large class sizes, high teaching loads, a shortage or lack of teaching materials, and lack of decent housing. In short, in order to improve the quality of education efforts must be made to reduce or remove all factors that may contribute to teachers' job dissatisfaction. At the same time conditions must be created to improve teachers' job satisfaction and work motivation. The conditions to be created may include: providing the teachers with the autonomy they deserve as professionals, giving the teaching profession its proper status and recognition in the society, treating

teachers as professionals who have a sense of responsibility and achievement, and providing them with the necessary professional support and feedback in their job.

McGregor (1960) believed that the motivation, the potential for development, the capacity for assuming responsibility, the readiness to direct behavior toward organizational goals are all present in people. It is the responsibility of the management to make it possible for people to reorganize and develop these human characteristics for themselves. According to McGregor (1960), the achievement of conditions that may give rise to job satisfaction and motivation is only possible in organizations with Theory Y management philosophy (participatory management). This means that if conditions necessary for bringing about teachers' job satisfaction have to be in place, the Ministry of Education would need to shift from scientific management and bureaucratic philosophy in favor of participatory management. Emphasis should be on decentralization and delegation of decisions and empowerment of teachers.

Lack of Teaching Materials

Out of 130 school heads who participated in the study, 118 or 90.8 per cent agreed with the statement that the quality of education in their school was affected by the lack of teaching materials. Nine school heads or 6.9 per cent disagreed with the statement and the rest were undecided. These results suggest that most of the school heads believed that the shortage or lack of teaching materials affected the quality of education provided in their schools.

The perceptions of the majority of school heads are in agreement with the textbook survey results from this study in which one textbook was found to be shared on average by three and four pupils at primary and secondary education levels respectively. Furthermore, out of 125 schools that provided data on facilities such as libraries and laboratories, 91 or 72.8 per cent had no libraries and 86 or 68.8 per cent had no science laboratories.

There is substantial and consistent evidence in the literature on the positive effect of teaching materials on the quality of education. In particular, textbooks were found to have a significant impact on student achievement. Heyneman, Farrel, and Sepulveda-Stuardo (1981) found a closer relationship between pupil achievement and the availability of textbooks than between the former and other school factors affecting pupil achievement. Increasing access to textbooks was also found to have significant positive effects on student learning and achievement in studies carried out in several developing countries (Heyneman & Jamison, 1980; Heyneman, Jamison & Montenegro, 1984; Jamison, Searle, Golda, & Heyneman, 1981).

In addition to textbooks, school libraries and laboratories were also found to have a positive impact on students' achievement. Heyneman & Loxely (1983) found that a mere presence of a school library was related to the school's average achievement levels in three developing countries. A review of literature by Fuller (1987) also cited several studies in which school libraries were found to have positive impact on student achievement and quality of education. The available evidence on the impact of science laboratories on achievement of students in science is however not conclusive (Fuller, 1987).

The perception of school heads and the supporting evidence available from the literature indicate that availability of teaching materials in schools, particularly textbooks, is the key to the improvement of the quality of education. There is an urgent need for the Government to address the problem of shortage of textbooks. Similarly establishment of school libraries and laboratories should be given priority in the national development plans.

Summary

This chapter has presented the analysis and discussion of the perceptions of school heads on the factors affecting the quality of education in their schools. Based on the perceptions of school heads 15 factors were found to affect the quality of education in

Zanzibar schools. Out of these, three factors were not very common because they were perceived by less than 50 per cent of the school heads. These factors were:

1. Official absenteeism of women teachers.
2. Sudden shift in the language of instruction, and
3. Shortage of teachers.

The most common factors perceived by at least 50 per cent of school as affecting the quality of education in their schools were as follows:

4. School heads' lack of power and authority in making decisions.
5. School heads' lack of relevant training.
6. Heavy teaching load of teachers.
7. Shortage of qualified teaches.
8. Poor learning environment.
9. The use of double shift system.
10. Large class sizes.
11. System of inspection of teachers.
12. Teachers' lack of support from education experts.
13. Lack of parent involvement.
14. Lack of teacher motivation, and
15. Lack of teaching materials.

It should be noted that the division between most and less common factors was based on the percentage frequency responses of school heads and it does not suggest in any way that the most common factors are necessarily important and vise versa. What appeared to be an important factor in one school could be of little significance in another school. Diagnosis of the situation in each school should therefore be done before recommending any action.

Chapter 8

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the summary and major findings of the study, and conclusions drawn from the findings. In addition to the implications of the study, some recommendations and areas that need further investigation are also discussed.

Summary and Major Findings of the Study

The main purpose of the study was to describe and evaluate the basic education system in Zanzibar and determine the factors that have affected its performance. The study covered the period of ten years, from 1982 to 1992.

The description and evaluation of basic education was accomplished by examining the following: (a) the universalization of basic education, (b) the internal efficiency of the basic education system and (c) the quality of basic education. School heads' opinions, supported where possible by evidence from statistical data, were used to determine the factors that affected the performance of the basic education system. In particular, the study concentrated on the factors that affected enrollment of school-age children and the quality of education.

Five research questions were developed to guide the study. Document analysis and a questionnaire survey were used as the main instruments of data collection. The researcher's own experience was also a valuable resource particularly in the analysis and discussion of findings. The major findings are presented according to the research questions asked in the study.

Research Question 1: What progress has been made in meeting the objective of universal basic education?

The universalization of basic education was measured by using enrollment rates. The results show that the gross enrollments rates (GER) at basic education level have decreased from 61.35 per cent in 1982 to 57.93 per cent in 1992. Furthermore, the net enrollment rate (NER) reached a value of only 40.74 per cent by the end of 1991. The results show that no progress was made in meeting the objective to achieve universal basic education during the ten year period. In addition to declining enrollment rates at national level, there were great variations among the ten districts as far as the enrollment of school-age children was concerned. The GERs for 1992 showed that the values varied from 97.2 per cent in the West district to 36.59 per cent in the Micheweni district. Low admission rates into Grade I and high dropout rates across various grades were responsible for the poor enrollment rates observed during the period under study.

Research Question 2: To what extent has the internal efficiency of the basic education system improved during the period?

The internal efficiency of the basic education system was measured by using survival rates. Promotion, repetition, and dropout rates were also used to supplement the findings from survival rates. The results show that the survival rates declined from 59.3 per cent in 1982 to 37.3 per cent in 1992. In other words, it was found that out of a cohort of 1,000 pupils who started Grade I in 1972, 593 pupils reached the final grade of basic education in 1982 within the normal duration of 11 years and out of a cohort of 1,000 pupils who started Grade I in 1982 only 373 reached the final grade of basic education in 1992 within the normal duration. The rest of the pupils either repeated grades or became dropouts. Further analysis of survival rates showed great variations among districts. The 1992 values varied from 46.19 per cent in the Urban district to 17.97 in the North A district. Furthermore, analysis of promotion, repetition, and dropout rates for various

years has shown that on the average out of every 1,000 pupils who start Grade I, 630 pupils (63.0 per cent) drop out of school and only 370 pupils (37.0 per cent) reach the final grade of basic education.

In general, the results show that the internal efficiency of the basic education system did not improve during the period under study, but instead it declined.

Research Question 3: To what extent has the quality of basic education improved during the period?

Transition rates (which depended upon the academic achievements of students in their final Form Three national examinations) to Form Four were used as a measure of quality of basic education. The results show that the transition rates declined from 38.7 per cent in 1982 to 11.2 per cent in 1992. Further analysis of transition rates show the persistence of great variations among districts. In general, the results show that the quality of education did not improve during the period. Preliminary examination of some indicators that influence educational quality suggest that the underfunding of basic education, shortage of and poor distribution of qualified teachers could be some of the factors responsible for the observed decline in the quality of basic education.

Research Question 4: What factors affected the enrollment of children in schools?

The factors that were found to have affected the enrollment of children in schools could be divided into two groups--the less common factors and the most common factors. The less common factors were those that were identified by less than 50 per cent of the school heads and included the following:

1. Teachers' absenteeism.
2. Teachers' unsatisfactory job performance.
3. Inadequate curriculum.
4. Lack of opportunities for further education.

5. Use of corporal punishment.
6. Poor school environment.
7. Long walking distance from home to school.
8. Use of double shift system.
9. Girl's age of puberty.

The most common factors (those indicated by at least 50 per cent of the school heads) were the following:

10. Parents' use of their children in raising family income.
11. Dropouts and truancy.
12. Failure by parents to appreciate the importance of education.
13. Early marriages.
14. Shortage of classrooms.
15. Lack of employment opportunities.
16. Poor family background.

The factors that have affected enrollment of children in Zanzibar schools could be divided into two groups, namely, in-school factors and out-of-school factors. The in-school factors include Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, and 14. The out-of-school factors include Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, and 16. The out-of-school factors could further be divided into economic, cultural and social factors. The economic factors include lack of employment opportunities, shortage of classrooms, and parents using their children in raising family income. The cultural factors include early marriages. The social factors include dropout and truancy, parents's lack of understanding of the importance of education, and poor family background.

The results from this study show that with the exception of shortage of classrooms, most of the common factors that have affected the enrollment of children in schools were not school related. These results indicate that concentrating on the in-school factors alone

is not sufficient to improve the enrollment situation in the schools. Great efforts need to be made to overcome the economic, social and cultural barriers that affect school enrollments.

Research Question 5: What factors affected the quality of education during the period?

Fifteen factors were found to have affected the quality of education in Zanzibar schools. Twelve of them were indicated by at least 50 per cent of the participants and were regarded as the most common factors. The rest were indicated by less than 50 per cent of the participants and were regarded as less common. The less common factors were:

1. Official absenteeism of women teachers.
2. Shift in the language of instruction.
3. Shortage of teachers.

The most common factors were:

4. School heads' lack of power and authority.
5. School heads' lack of relevant training.
6. Heavy teaching loads of teachers.
7. Shortage of qualified teachers.
8. Poor learning environment.
9. Use of double shift system.
10. Large class sizes.
11. System of inspection of teachers.
12. Teachers' lack of support from education experts.
13. Lack of parent involvement and support in school activities.
14. Lack of teacher motivation.
15. Lack of teaching materials.

Unlike the factors that have affected school enrollments most of the factors that affected the quality of education are school related. Furthermore, most of the factors could

be associated with managerial, administrative or organizational problems. Only a few, such as lack of teaching materials, poor school environment, school heads' lack of training and to a certain extent lack of teacher motivation might need huge financial investments. The tendency in the past, was to associate the decline in the quality of education with the lack of funds. While this is true to a certain extent, the other factors that may not require huge investments should not be overlooked. For instance, spending more money on schools when the teachers are demoralized by the presence of unnecessary bureaucracy and an inappropriate supervision system will not significantly improve the quality of education. There is therefore a need for educational administrators to develop a new vision regarding the strategies for improving the quality of education.

Conclusions

Based on the above findings the following conclusions were drawn:

1. There was still a significant proportion of parents who were not sending their children to school.

2. Despite an absolute increase in enrollments, more children were not attending school in 1992 than was the case ten years ago.

3. Most of the children who were enrolled in school dropped out before completing basic education.

4. Only a few (about 10 per cent) of those who completed basic education qualified for further education.

5. Low admission rates and high dropout rates were responsible for poor enrollments in schools.

6. Both in-school and out-of-school factors have discouraged the enrollment of children in schools.

7. Poor internal efficiency was a common feature of the basic education system.

8. High dropout rates were mostly responsible for poor internal efficiency of the basic education system.

9. The quality of basic education has declined to very alarming levels.

10. Organizational and administrative problems as well as inadequate and inequitable distribution of financial, learning and human resources were responsible for the decline in the quality of education.

11. The basic education system was characterized by the persistence of educational disparities among various districts, and to a lesser degree between males and females and between urban and rural areas.

In general, the performance of the basic education system during the ten year period (1982–1992), from both a quantitative and qualitative perspective could be best described as unsatisfactory. The education system during the period was characterized by low admission rates, low enrollment rates, high repetition and dropout rates, poor internal efficiency, declining educational quality, and persistence of educational disparities between various districts. Both the in-school and out-of-school factors have affected the performance of the basic education system. Educators in Zanzibar must face enormous challenges of increasing the quantitative expansion of the basic education system and at the same time strive to improve the quality of education. The tasks ahead are not simple as they must involve overcoming not only the in-school factors but also the economic, social and cultural conditions of the country. With a poor economic situation, cooperation and contributions of various education stakeholders are needed now more than ever.

Implications

The findings and conclusions of this study have several implications for policy makers, and other stakeholders in education. Some of the implications are described below.

Increasing Illiteracy

The existence of a large number of children who are not attending school implies an increase in the already high illiteracy rates. The importance of a literate population in social and economic development of any society cannot be over emphasized. Without taking appropriate measures of enrolling all eligible children in schools, Zanzibar will lag behind in development.

Lack of Qualified Human Resources

The provision of a poor quality education will deprive the country of qualified personnel needed in key areas of social, cultural, political, and economic development. This is because fewer and fewer people will be qualifying for further education in very crucial areas such as teaching, health professions, engineering, and many others. The importance of qualified human resources to development cannot be overemphasized. Without taking immediate measures to improve the quality of education, the economic future of the country will be in jeopardy.

Increasing Social and Economic Inequalities

The persistence of educational disparities among various areas of the country and among various segments of the population defeat the objective of equality of educational opportunities for every citizen. Persistence of inequalities in educational provision may lead to social and economic inequalities which will ultimately divide the country into the "haves" and the "have-nots". Such inequalities may threaten peace and tranquillity .

Efforts must be made to remove or reduce educational disparities before the problem reaches unmanageable proportions.

Recommendations

The findings of this study have shown that the performance of the basic education system was not satisfactory. The following recommendations may help to improve the situation:

Building New Classrooms and Renovating Existing Ones

The ongoing efforts of mobilizing parents to build new classrooms on self-help basis should continue. The construction of new classrooms should carry on hand in hand with the renovation of existing ones. The past trends, in which not much priority was given to rehabilitation and maintenance have caused many classrooms to collapse or be abandoned. Inspite of the efforts to build more classrooms, not much increase in the number of classrooms was observed.

In addition to providing additional places to newly admitted children, these measures will ultimately improve the learning environment by reducing class sizes and the use of double shift system, thereby contributing to the improvement of the quality of education. Furthermore, renovation of school buildings could help to make schools attractive and enjoyable to children, thus facilitating their enrollment and willingness to stay in school.

Educating Parents on the Importance of Education

Some parents do not enroll their children in school. Educating parents as to the importance of education to their children, society, and themselves and mobilizing them to send their children to school could help to improve the situation. A good case in point is the UPE campaign launched in 1978. A record number of children was admitted into

school. A similar campaign could be launched. Unlike the previous UPE campaign which was on short term basis, the campaign for educating parents on the importance of sending their children to school must be on a long term and permanent basis. This could be done by utilizing effectively the public media, both the radio and television. Furthermore, legal measures should be taken against those parents who for no valid reason do not send their children to school.

In addition to political mobilization, effective adult education through literacy and post literacy programs could help to arouse education awareness and interest amongst parents.

Providing Special Assistance to Poor Families

It was pointed out earlier that the declaration of free education could not by itself guarantee school attendance for some children from very poor families. For example, food and clothing might be significant factors inhibiting school attendance. The Government should identify such families and provide appropriate assistance to the needy children so that they can attend school. Meanwhile compensation programs could be extended to those families that cannot afford to lose their children's labor.

Making a School an Attractive and Enjoyable Place

Experience has shown that it might be easy to mobilize parents to enroll their children in school but quite difficult to make some children stay in school. Ngwagu (1976), explained some of the reasons why some children dislike school:

> Many pupils drop out of school because of their sad experiences in the classroom and in the schools generally. It is full of disastrous consequences that many teachers do not realize that how they teach, how they behave and how they interact with school children may be more important than what they teach. . . . Many school dropouts were the victims of hostile school environment. Some of them saw the school as grim, joyless places with petty and oppressive demands, rules and regulations. (p. 99)

Hence the need to make schooling an enjoyable and rewarding experience cannot be overemphasized. Appropriate measures must be taken that may improve the operational climate of the schools. These measures may include abolition of corporal punishment in schools, involving students in the decision making process, and making sports and recreation programs part of the school curriculum.

Abolishing Repetition of Grades

As indicated earlier, the Zanzibar education system has quite high repetition rates. Experience in Zanzibar has shown that a significant proportion of children who were required to repeat grades ultimately dropped out of school. Furthermore, most research has concluded that repeating grades does not necessarily improve a student's academic achievement (Fuller, 1987). There is need to examine the system of repetition because it does not help the learners, but instead it encourages dropout.

One possibility the Ministry of Education might consider is to introduce a system of automatic promotion. However, the introduction of automatic promotion should be accompanied by the necessary curriculum development activities and reorganization of teaching groups so that the interests of all students are fully addressed. Special arrangements could be made by the schools that might ensure extra tutoring and help to students with learning difficulties.

Providing Sufficient Instructional Materials

Availability and access to instructional materials in schools is important for improving the quality of education. Special efforts must be made to supply the schools with sufficient and relevant textbooks. Experienced teachers and interested publishers could be encouraged to produce school textbooks. The establishment of school libraries, that could at least provide reference materials to both teachers and students, should be given utmost priority in the country's educational plans.

Providing Systematic Professional Development of Teachers.

In order to keep up-to-date with the ever changing developments in the teaching profession, teachers need in-service and professional development programs. These programs are even more important in systems of education where the teaching force has many untrained and under-qualified teachers.

Professional development and in-service training programs must be institutionalized so that they become part of the teachers' incentive package. A specified number of teachers' working days per year could be devoted to in-service training. Furthermore, after attending a specified number of training programs, teachers should be given professional recognition and rewarded in terms of promotion or extra salary increments. Moreover, for the professional development and in-service training programs to be effective, teachers must be involved from the outset in planning, designing, and executing the programs. Meanwhile, in order to make sure that all teachers are trained to academically and professionally acceptable levels the Ministry should stop recruiting untrained teachers and concentrate its efforts on providing better and systematic in-service training and professional development to those already in the field.

Boosting the Motivation and Morale of Teachers

Improvements in the quality of education depends upon a well-motivated teaching force. While current efforts to increase teachers' salaries and other allowances must continue, other avenues that may boost the morale and motivation of teachers must be explored. These avenues may include: (a) assigning the teachers duties according to their level of training and competence, (b) establishing support mechanisms that will provide teachers with practical professional help when needed, (c) treating teachers as professionals with a certain degree of autonomy, (d) encouraging teachers to form their own professional

associations, and (e) giving the teachers public appreciation, confidence, and recognition, particularly by political leaders, the press and the community.

Restructuring the School Management System

In order to increase school effectiveness and efficiency, the highly centralized and bureaucratic system of managing education in Zanzibar needs some reorganization. The reorganization might include organizational and administrative structure of the Ministry of Education so as to enhance participatory management and empowerment of teachers. It might also include decentralizing most of the Ministry of Education's activities so as to provide the districts, the communities, and the schools the necessary autonomy and resources to manage education in their localities. By doing so, the Ministry would be devoting more time in general planning of educational policies, educational research, setting standards and examinations, curriculum development and supervision, and training of teachers.

In addition to changing organizational and administrative structures, the roles of the Curriculum Development Department and the Inspectorate might be changed so as to facilitate teachers professional growth and job satisfaction. The role of the Curriculum Development Department could be changed from preparing detailed curriculum specifications for teachers to follow to preparation of broad curriculum guidelines so that teachers might have autonomy in planning and designing the specifics and in adopting their own teaching methods. Furthermore, for teachers to claim ownership and acceptance of the curriculum, they must be given an opportunity to participate fully in the curriculum development process -- from designing to implementation.

The Ministry of Education might also consider changing the roles and functions of the Inspectorate from the inspection/summative evaluation role to the collaborative supervision/formative evaluation role. However, the current number of external

supervisors (inspectors) is too few to meet the demands of the new roles. A system of internal supervisors within schools is recommended to supplement the work of inspectors. In this system, the Ministry could appoint in each school, one to three qualified, and well experienced teachers (depending on the size of the school), train them in skills related to curriculum development, clinical supervision, testing and evaluation, and classroom management. In addition to teaching, these teachers will also be supervising fellow teachers in their schools and providing them with professional support. The institutionalization of internal supervision in schools will not only provide on-site practical professional help, but will also boost cooperation and professional trust amongst teachers. Moreover, institutionalizing the internal supervision system will be a significant step towards getting away from the traditional inspection of teachers and moving toward a more rewarding and effective system of supervision.

Improving Skills and Competencies of Educational Managers

Most of the educational managers including school heads, inspectors, district and regional education officers were assigned their new duties without any prior training. The only qualification they had was their teaching certificates and experience. While these qualifications are very important, they are not enough to meet the current and future challenges facing educators. Formal training in relevant fields in education is required.

It is therefore, recommended that a center responsible for training educational managers be established at the Nkrumah Teachers Training College. Among other things the proposed center will provide in-service and pre-service training respectively to current educational managers and those aspiring to become educational managers in the future.

Increasing Community and Parent Involvement in Schools

The current situation in which there is very limited community and parent involvement must be improved. The schools should not be isolated from the community which they are supposed to serve. Experience has shown that schools involve parents only when there is a crisis. This type of school-community relations is not long lasting and has little impact on improving school performance. Efforts must be made so that parents and the community in general have greater say and influence in managing education in their localities. These efforts may include setting guidelines and policies that will ensure that:

1. Members of school committees are elected by the parents instead of being appointed by certain authorities.

2. Incentives are put into place that will motivate committee members to meet regularly.

3. Schools notify parents regularly on the progress of their children.

4. Schools arrange parent days regularly at least once a year.

5. School programs involve activities that utilize parents' expertise available in the community.

6. School committees are fully involved in managing resources and making decisions affecting their schools.

Increasing the Education Budget

It was noted earlier that the underfunding of the education sector could be one of the factors responsible for the poor performance of the basic education system. The current level of funding of education is too low even to maintain the status quo. Without a substantial increase in the education budget, particularly for items related to learning

resources (textbooks, teaching aids, consumable materials, supervision and in-service training of teachers), not much progress should be expected. Colclough and Lewin (1993) estimated that developing countries should increase the annual expenditure on learning resources to at least five United States dollars (T.Shs. 2500.00) per child if considerable impact on the quality of education is to be observed. Hence in addition to increasing the share of education in the total government expenditure innovative ways to increase the education budget must be developed.

Areas That Need Further Investigation

While the above recommendations, if implemented, may help to improve the performance of the basic education system, there are several issues to which this study could not provide conclusive answers. It is recommended that further studies should be carried out so as to arrive at the answers to the following questions:

1. Why are some parents reluctant to send their children to schools?

2. Why are some students dropping out of school before completing basic education?

3. What are the main factors contributing to the teachers' job dissatisfaction and satisfaction in Zanzibar?

4. What teacher qualities affect the quality of education?

5. To what extent does the use of double shift system affect the performance of the basic education system?

Furthermore, since this study concerned itself with perceptions of school heads only, a similar study should be carried out to find out the perceptions of other stakeholders in education on the factors that have affected the performance of the basic education system in Zanzibar. Some of the stakeholders to be involved in such a study could include

classroom teachers, administrators, parents, politicians and students. The perceptions from the various stakeholders could facilitate better understanding of the factors that have affected the performance of the basic education system and might lead to the development of better strategies for improving the situation.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: The Questionnaire

Evaluation of Universal Basic Education Policy in Zanzibar

(A questionnaire to be filled by headmasters/headmistresses of primary and secondary schools)

Part A: About Yourself

1. Gender. Please circle your gender. 1. Male 2. Female.

2. When did you start working as a teacher? 19.....

3. When did you become a headmaster/headmistress? 19.....

4. How did you become a headmaster/headmistress? Circle the appropriate answer.

    1. I applied for the post.

    2. I did not apply for the post but I was appointed by the Ministry.

5. Which of the following represents your educational and professional qualifications? Please circle the appropriate qualification.

    1. University degree 2. Diploma 3. Form 6 (trained)

    4. Form 6 (untrained) 5. Form 4 (trained) 6. Form 4 (untrained)

    7. Form 3 (trained) 8. Form 4 (untrained)

    9. Form 2 (trained) 10. Standard VIII (trained)

    11. Other. Please specify.....

6. Did you receive any training in school administration or management before becoming a headmaster/headmistress? Circle the appropriate answer.

    1. Yes 2. No.

7. Have you received any training in school administration or management? Circle the appropriate answer.

    1. Yes 2. No.

If yes, for how long and where?.....

About your school

8. What type is your school? Circle the appropriate type.

    1. Primary only 2. Mixed primary and secondary 3. Secondary only.

9. When was your school established? Provide the date. 19.....

10. In which district is your school located? Circle the appropriate answer.

    1. Urban 2. West 3. South 4. Central 5. North 'A'

    6. North "B" 7. Chakechake 8. Mkoani 9. Wete

    10. Micheweni

11. Is your school in an urban or rural area? Circle the appropriate answer.

    1. Urban 2. Rural

12. Please provide information on the increase of physical facilities in your school by completing the table below and then answer the questions that follow.

Year	No. of class-room	Number of streams		No. of laborat ories	No. of libraries	No. of staff-rooms	No. of offices	No. of stores	No. of toilets	No. of teachers' houses
		Morning	Afternoon							
1977										
1982										
1987										
1992										

(a) How many classrooms are now under construction?.....

(b) How many classrooms have either damaged/leaking roofs, cracked walls or cracked/dusty floors?.....

(c) How many classrooms are temporary? that is, either have temporary structures or use borrowed buildings?.....

(d) How many classrooms have insufficient furniture?.....

(e) How many classrooms have no furniture at all?.....

(f) How many toilets are not working?.....

(g) How many teachers' houses are not in satisfactory condition?.....

(h) How many teachers' houses are being used by teachers?.....

(i) How many teachers are staying more than 6 miles from the school?.....

13. Please provide information on the number of textbooks available to students in your school by grade and subject for the year 1992/93 by completing the table below.

Class	No. of pupils	Number of textbooks available to pupils by subjects								
		Maths.	English	Kiswa.	History	Geog.	Science	Biology	Chem.	Physics
Std VI										
Std VII										
StdVIII										
Form 1										
Form 2										
Form 3										
Total										

14. Please provide information on the number of teachers who left teaching in your school during the past 3 years [1990 –1992] by completing the table below.

Reasons for leaving the teaching job	Number of teachers who left teaching								
	1990			1991			1992		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Retired									
Resigned voluntarily									
Transfer to another job									
Further studies outside teaching									
Expelled									
Other reason									

15. Please provide information on teachers in your school by completing the table below.

Qualification of teachers	Number of teachers teaching in primary school			Number of teachers teaching in secondary school			Total number of teachers in the school		
	Male (a)	Female (b)	Total (c)	Male (d)	Female (e)	Total (f)	Male (a + d)	Female (b + e)	Total (c + f)
University degree (science)									
University degree (arts)									
Diploma (science)									
Diploma (arts)									
Form 6/F.T.C(trained)									
Form 6/F.T.C(untrained)									
Form 4 (trained)									
Form 4 (untrained)									
Form 3 (trained)									
Form 3 (untrained)									
Form 2 (trained)									
Form 2 (untrained)									
Std VIII (trained)									
Koran teachers									

16. Please provide information on the attendance of teachers for the past 3 years, 1990–1992 by completing the table below.

Month	Teachers' attendance in percentage		
	1990	1991	1992
January			
February			
March			
April			
May			
June			
July			
August			
September			
October			
November			
December			

NB: Please write NS (no school) against a month in which there was no school.

School-Community Relations

17. Is there a school-committee in your school? Circle the appropriate answer.

1. Yes 2. No

If no, go to question 26.

18. Is your school-committee meeting regularly? Circle the appropriate answer.

1. Yes 2. No

19 How many times did your school-committee meet in 1992?.....

20. Which of the following issues did your school-committee discuss in the meetings held in 1992? Check (√) the appropriate answer.

i. Admission of new standard one pupils. (.....)

ii. Construction of new classrooms. (.....)

iii. Renovation of school buildings. (.....)

iv. Discipline of pupils. (.....)

v. Discipline of teachers. (.....)

vi. Fund-raising activities. (.....)

vii. Examination results. (.....)

viii. Students' progress in schools. (.....)

ix. Truancy and dropout problems. (.....)

x. Problems of school furniture. (.....)

xi. Other. Please mention. .....
.....

21. Do you think that the school-committees are helpful in dealing with school problems? Circle the appropriate answer.

1. Yes 2. No

22. Did your school arrange any "parent-days" during the year 1992? Circle the appropriate answer.

1. Yes 2. No

If yes, how many times?.....

23. Did your school arranged any meetings for all parents with children in your school during 1992? Circle the appropriate answer.

1. Yes 2. No

If yes, how many times?.....

24. Does your school notify parents on the progress of their children? Circle the appropriate answer.

1. Yes 2. No

If yes, how? .....
.....

Factors affecting enrollment of children in school

Following are some statements that may be used to explain why some children who have reached the school-going age are not attending school. Referring to the situation in your school, please indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with each statement by putting a CIRCLE around the number against one of the five possible choices that best expresses your opinion.

25. Some children of school-going age are not attending school because there is a serious shortage of classrooms in my school.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

26. Some children of school-going age are not attending school because their parents prefer to use them in raising family income.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

27. Some children of school-going age are not attending school because their parents do not understand the importance of education.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

28. Student dropouts and truancy are serious problems affecting enrollment of school-going age children in my school.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

29. Some children of school-going age are not attending school or decide to drop out of school because of the poor school environment (e.g. lack of furniture, classrooms with leaking roofs, cracked floors and walls).

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

30. The frequent use of corporal punishment in school forces some children to run away from school or drop out from school.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

31. Some children of school-gong age are not attending school or decide to drop out of school because they have to walk long distances (more than 3 miles) from home to school.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

32. Some children of school-going age decide to drop out from school because the school curriculum does not provide them with knowledge and skills that are useful to them and their community.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

33. Some children of school-going age, particularly girls, drop out of school because they get married before completing compulsory basic education.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

34. Some children of school-going age, particularly girls, are discouraged from going to school by their parents after reaching the age of puberty.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

35. Some pupils decide to drop out of school because some teachers do not perform their jobs properly and therefore do not see the benefit of staying in school.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

36. Some pupils decide to drop out of school because some teachers are frequently absent from work and pupils regard staying in school without learning as a waste of time.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

37. Some pupils decide to drop out of school because they are disappointed by the small number of pupils who are selected to continue with further education as a result of poor performance of their school in the national (Form 3) examinations.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

38. The double shift system in my school contributes to student dropouts and truancy.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

39. Please mention any other factors or reasons that affect enrollment of school-going age children in your school.

40. Suggest ways that could improve enrollment of school-going age children in your school so that the goal to provide basic education to all children is achieved.

Factors Affecting The Quality/Standard Of Education.

Following are some statements that may be used to describe factors that affect the quality or standard of education and student learning. Referring to the situation in your school, please indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with each statement by putting a CIRCLE around the number against one of the five possible choices that best expresses your opinion.

41. The quality of education in my school is affected by lack of teaching materials (e.g. text-books, teachers' reference books, teaching aids, laboratory equipment, library books, etc.).

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

42. The quality of education in my school is affected by poor learning environment in the classrooms (e.g. no furniture, dusty floors, cracked walls and floors, leaking and damaged roofs)

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

43. The quality of education in my school is affected by shortage of teachers.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

44. The quality of education in my school is affected by shortage of qualified teachers.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

45. The quality of education in my school is affected by the lack of teacher motivation; that is, the teachers in my school are not satisfied with their job and hence are not motivated to work hard.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

46. The quality of education in my school is affected by the headmaster/headmistress' lack of power and authority in making decisions about their schools; that is, the heads of school do not have power and authority to make important decisions regarding their school. Everything is decided at the top.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

47. The quality of education in my school is affected by the lack of teachers' support from education experts (inspectors, curriculum developers); that is, teachers are not getting sufficient support regarding their work from inspectors and curriculum experts.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

48. The quality of education in my school is affected by the present system of inspection of teachers which is based more on finding out "what is wrong" than in providing help and support to the teachers.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

49. The quality of education is affected by the lack of parent involvement and support; that is, parents are not concerned with problems and progress of the schools.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

50. The quality of education in my school is affected because the headmasters/headmistresses lack basic training and skills in school administration and management (lack of training in leadership skills, supervision skills, curriculum development and communication skills).

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

51. The double shift system already present in many schools contributes to poor quality of education.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

52. The quality of education in my school is affected by large numbers of children per class, that is, teachers are teaching classes with more than 45 pupils.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

53. The quality of education in my school is affected by heavy teaching loads of teachers; that is, teachers are teaching more than 32 periods per week.

1. Strongly Agree 2. Agree 3. Uncertain 4. Disagree 5. Strongly Disagree

54. Mention any other factors/reasons which you think affect the quality/standard of education and children learning in your school.

55. Suggest ways that could be used to improve the quality of education in your school.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

Appendix 2: Letter of Transmittal

Abdulhamid Y. Mzee
7-104 Education Building North
Department of Educational Administration
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2G5
Canada.
June 20, 1993.

Dear Headmaster/Headmistress,

Ref: Research on Universal Basic Education Policy in Zanzibar.

I am currently a graduate student at the University of Alberta specializing in educational administration. As part of my graduation requirement, I am conducting a research on the implementation of the universal basic education policy in Zanzibar.

You are kindly requested to participate in this study. This study is very important to the future development of education in Zanzibar. By participating in this study, you will be making valuable contribution towards the improvement of education in Zanzibar. Since the information you will provide is only for research purposes, do not write your name or the name of your school. All the information will be treated in strict confidence.

Please return the completed questionnaire to the Acting Principal Secretary, Ministry of Education, Zanzibar, or to the Officer in Charge of Education, Pemba, who will then forward it to me. I would appreciate it if you could complete the questionnaire and return it to the Ministry within two weeks from the day you receive it.

Thank you for your cooperation and participation.

Yours sincerely,

Abdulhamid Y. Mzee.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled

BASIC EDUCATION IN ZANZIBAR: PROGRESS, PROBLEMS, AND ISSUES

submitted by ABDULHAMID YAHYA MZEE in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF EDUCATION.

_____
Dr. D. M. Richards

_____
Dr. Frank Peters

_____
Dr. W. D. Samiroden

Date: _____